COLUMBUS BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF SALAMANCA

NEW STANDARD EDITION

THE WORLD'S GREAT EVENTS

AN INDEXED HISTORY OF THE WORLD FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

GREAT HISTORIANS

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ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME THREE

FROM A.D. 1194 TO A.D. 1492

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THE FOURTH CRUSADE

(A.D. 1202)

JULES MICHELET

THE Westerns had slight hope of succeeding in an enterprise in which their hero, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, had failed. However, the momentum which had been imparted a century before, went on of itself. Politicians endeavored to turn it to account. The Emperor, Henry VI., himself preached the crusade to the diet of Worms, declaring that he desired to make atonement for the imprisonment of Richard. Enthusiasm was at its height: all the German princes took the cross. Many found their way to Constantinople: others followed the Emperor, who persuaded them that the right road to the Holy Land was Sicily. He thus managed to secure important assistance toward conquering this island, which was his wife's by inheritance, but whose inhabitants, whether Norman, Italian, or Arab, were unanimous in rejecting the German yoke. He only became master of it by shedding torrents of blood; and it is even said that his wife poisoned him in revenge

Enthusiasm in Germany.

for her country's wrongs. Brought up by the jurists of Bologna with the idea of the illimitable right of the Cæsars, Henry relied on making Sicily his vantage-ground for the invasion of the Greek Empire, as Robert Guiscard had done, and then returning into Italy to humble the Pope to the level of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The conquest of the Greek Empire, which he was unable to accomplish, was, indeed, the consequence and unforeseen result of the fourth crusade. Saladin's death, and the accession of a young pope full of ardor and of genius (Innocent III.), seemed to reanimate Christendom. The death of Henry VI., too, reassured Europe, alarmed at his power. The crusade, preached by Fulk of Neuilly, was, above all, popular in Northern France. A count of Champagne had just been elected king of Jerusalem. His brother, who succeeded to his countship, took the cross, and with him most of his vassals. This powerful baron was lord of no fewer than eighteen hundred fiefs. Nor must we forget his marshal of Champagne, who marched at the head of his vassals, Geoffroi de Villehardouin, the historian of this great expedition, the first prose writer, the first historian of France who used the vulgar tongue. It is a native of Champagne, too, the Sire de Joinville, who is to relate the history of St. Louis and the close of the crusades. The barons of the north of

Also in Northern France.

France took the cross in crowds, and among them the Counts of Brienne, of St. Paul, of Boulogne, and of Amiens, with the Dampierres, the Montmorencies, and the famous Simon de Montfort, who had returned from the Holy Land, where he had concluded a truce with the Saracens on the part of the Christians of Palestine. The impulse communicated itself to Hainault and to Flanders; and the Count of Flanders, who was the brother-in-law of the Count of Champagne, found himself, by the premature death of the latter, the chief leader of the crusade. The Kings of France and England had their own affairs to look after; and the Empire was distracted between two emperors.

Hainault and Flanders join.

The land journey was no longer thought of. The Greeks were too well known. They had but recently massacred the Latins who happened to be in Constantinople; and had attempted to destroy the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa on his march. Vessels were required for the voyage by sea. The Venetians were applied to. These traders took advantage of the necessity of the crusaders, and would not supply them with transports under eighty-five thousand marks of silver. But they chose to take a share in the crusade, toward which they equipped fifty galleys, and in return for this small venture, they stipulated for a moiety of the conquests. The old doge, Dandolo, an octogenarian, and almost blind,

Transactions with the Venetians,—Dandolo.

would trust no one with the command of an expedition which might turn out so profitable to the republic, and declared his intention to sail with it. The Marquis of Montserrat, Boniface, a brave and poor prince, who had been to the holy wars, and whose brother Conrad had distinguished himself by his defence of Tyre, was appointed commander-in-chief, and he promised to lead with him the Piedmontese and Savoyards.

A sharp bargain.

When the crusaders had assembled at Venice, the Venetians protested to them, in the midst of their farewell fêtes, that they would not get under weigh until they received their freightage. All drained themselves, and gave whatever they had brought with them; still thirty-four thousand marks were wanting to make the tale complete. The worthy doge then interceded, and pointed out to the people that it would not be to their honor to act rigorously with regard to so holy an enterprise; and he proposed that the crusaders should, in the first instance, lay siege, on behalf of the Venetians, to the city of Zara in Dalmatia, which had withdrawn itself from the yoke of the Venetians to recognize the King of Hungary. The latter had just taken the cross, and to attack one of his towns was a bad beginning. Vainly did the Pope's legate protest against the step. The doge told him that the army could dispense with his directions, mounted the cross on his ducal cap, and dragged the

Siege of Zara, A.D. 1203.

crusaders first to the siege of Zara, then to that of Trieste; conquering for their good friends of Venice almost all the towns of Istria.

Prince Alexius asks aid from the crusaders.

While these brave and honest knights earn their passage by these exploits, "Behold, there happens," says Villehardouin, "a great wonder, an unhoped-for, and the strangest adventure in the world." A young Greek prince, son of the Emperor Isaac—at the time dispossessed of his dominions by his brother—comes to embrace the crusaders' knees, and to promise them immense advantages, if they will only re-establish his father on his throne. They were all to be enriched forever, the Greek Church was to submit to the Pope, and the Emperor, once restored, would aid them with his whole power to recover Jerusalem. Dandolo is the first to commiserate the prince's misfortunes. He determines the crusaders *to begin the crusade by Constantinople.* Vainly does the Pope launch his interdict against the intent; vainly do Simon Montfort and many others separate from the main body, and set sail to Jerusalem. The majority follow Baldwin and Boniface, who fall in with the opinion of the Venetians.

The Pope's opposition.

Whatever the Pope's opposition to the enterprise, the crusaders conceived that they were doing a good work in subjecting the Greek Church to him, in his own despite. It would put an end to the mutual hatred and opposition of the Greeks and Latins.

At every crusade, the Franks, in passing through Constantinople, had deliberated on the policy of seizing it; and but for the good faith of Godfrey of Bouillon and Louis the Younger, they would have put their deliberations into act. When the nationality of the Greeks was so fearfully aroused by the tyrant Andronicus, the Latins settled in Constantinople were involved in one common massacre (April, 1182). Notwithstanding the constant danger that hung over their heads, commercial interests tempted great numbers to return under his successors; and they formed in the heart of Constantinople a hostile colony, inviting the Westerns, and apparently holding out hopes of seconding them should they ever attempt to take the capital of the Greek Empire by surprise. Of all the Latins, the Venetians alone desired and could effect this great enterprise; and, rivals of the Genoese in the trade of the Levant, they feared being anticipated by them. Not to dwell upon the great name of Constantinople, and of the immense riches inclosed within its walls, in which the Roman Empire had taken refuge, its commanding position between Europe and Asia offered, to whoever should seize it, a monopoly of commerce, and the sovereignty of the seas. The old doge, Dandolo, whom the Greeks had formerly deprived of sight, pursued this project with the untiring ardor of patriotism and of vengeance. It is even stated that the Sul-

Hostility between Greeks and Latins.

Dandolo's statecraft and vengeance.

tan Malek-Adhel, in his fear of the crusade, had levied contributions throughout Syria for the purchase of the friendship of the Venetian, and to divert to Constantinople the danger which threatened Judea and Egypt. Nicetas, much better acquainted than Villehardouin with the negotiations preceding the crusade, asserts that the whole had been arranged, and that the arrival of the young Alexius only accelerated the impulse already given: "It was," he says, "a wave upon a wave."

Secret negotiations.

The crusaders constituted in the hands of Venice a blind and brutal force, which it launched against the Greek Empire. They were ignorant alike of the motives and secret intelligence of the Venetians, and of the state of the Empire they were about to attack. Thus, when they found themselves before its astonishing capital, and beheld the innumerable palaces and churches of Constantinople, with their gilded domes flashing in the sun, and gazed on the myriads of men who crowded the ramparts, they could not help a feeling of momentary doubt.

It is true that the population was great; but the city was unprepared for defence. The Greeks had entertained the conviction, since their repulse of the Arabs, that Constantinople was impregnable; and from this conviction neglected the means of rendering it so. Constantinople had sixteen hundred fishing-

Magnitude of the task.

boats, and only twenty ships, not one of which, however, it sent against the Latin fleet, and none attempted to fall down the stream to cast the Greek fire into it. Sixty thousand men, indeed, appeared on the bank magnificently armed; but no sooner did the crusaders show themselves, than they vanished. In fact, this light cavalry of theirs could not have sustained the shock of the heavy men-at-arms of the Latins; and the city had no other defence than was afforded by its strong walls and a few corps of excellent soldiers, forming the Varangian guard, which consisted of Danish and Saxon refugees from England, together with some Pisan auxiliaries: in all parts, the commercial and political rivalry between the two people, armed the Pisans against the Venetians.

Cowardice of the Greeks.

The latter, probably, had friends in Constantinople; for as soon as they had forced the harbor and presented themselves at the foot of the walls, the standard of St. Mark appeared on them, planted by an invisible hand, and the doge was quickly master of twenty-five towers. But he had to forego this advantage in order to carry assistance to the Franks, who were surrounded by the Greek cavalry they had so despised. That very night the Emperor fled in despair. His predecessor, the aged Isaac Comnenus, was released from prison; and it only remained for the crusaders to enter the city in triumph.

Treachery aids the Venetians.

It was impossible that the crusade should end thus. The new Emperor could only satisfy the requisitions of his liberators by ruining his subjects. The Greeks murmured, the Latins pressed and threatened. In the meantime they insulted the people in a thousand ways, as well as the Emperor of their own making. One day, when playing at dice with Prince Alexius, they clapped a coarse woollen or hair cap on his head. They took pleasure in offending against all the customs of the Greeks, and were scandalized at whatever was new to themselves. Discovering a mosque or a synagogue, they fell upon the infidels, who defended themselves. They then set fire to some houses, and the flames spreading, the conflagration raged over the thickest and most populous quarter of the city for above a league in front, and lasted eight days and nights.

The crusaders insult the Greeks.

This event put the finishing stroke to the exasperation of the people, who rose up against the Emperor whose restoration had brought so many evils in its train. For three days the purple was offered to every Senator in turn: great courage was required to accept it. The Venetians who, apparently, could have interfered, remained outside of the walls, and waited. Perhaps they feared trusting themselves in this immense city, in which they might have been crushed; perhaps it suited them to allow the Emperor whom they had made to be overpowered, that they might en-

The purple goes begging.

ter Constantinople as enemies. In fact, the aged Isaac was put to death, and was replaced by a prince of the imperial family, Alexius Mourzoufle, who showed himself equal to the emergency in which he accepted the Empire. He began by rejecting the captious propositions of the Venetians, who still offered to be satisfied with a sum of money. They would by this means have ruined him, and have rendered him hateful to the people, like his predecessor. Mourzoufle levied money, indeed; but it was to employ it in his own defence. He armed vessels, and twice endeavored to burn the enemy's fleet. The situation of the Latins became precarious. However, Mourzoufle could not create soldiers at once. The crusaders were warriors of a far different stamp; the Greeks could not withstand their assault; and Nicetas confesses, with infinite simplicity, that at the terrible moment the gates were burst open, a Latin knight, who overthrew all in his way, appeared fifty feet high to them.

Alexius Mourzoufle

The city taken.

The leaders endeavored to restrain the license of victory. They forbade, under pain of death, the rape of married women, or virgins, or nuns. But full scope was allowed to the avarice of the soldiery; and so enormous was the amount of the booty, that after adding fifty thousand marks to the share of the Venetians in discharge of their debt, there remained five hundred thousand marks to the Franks as

their own share. An innumerable number of precious monuments, which had been collected in Constantinople since the Empire had lost so many provinces, perished under the hands of men who wrangled for them, who wished to divide them, or who else destroyed them for destruction's sake. Nor churches nor tombs were respected; and a prostitute sang and danced in the Patriarch's pulpit. The barbarians scattered the bones of the emperors; and when they came to Justinian's tomb, found with surprise that the legislator's body betrayed no signs of decay or putrefaction.

Pillage of the city.

Who was to have the honor of seating himself on Justinian's throne, and of founding the new empire? The worthiest was the aged Dandolo. But the Venetians were opposed to this: it did not suit them to give to a family what belonged to the republic. The glory of being the restorers of the empire was little to them. What these merchants desired was posts, commercial depots, a long chain of factories, which might secure them the whole of the great eastern highway. They chose for their own share the maritime coast and the islands, together with three out of the eight quarters of Constantinople, with the fantastic title of *lords of one-fourth and a half of the Roman Empire.*

Attitude of the Venetians.

The Empire, reduced to one-fourth of its limits, was bestowed on Baldwin, Count of

Baldwin chosen emperor.

Flanders, a descendant of Charlemagne, and a cousin of the King of France. The Marquis of Montserrat was contented with the kingdom of Macedon. The greatest part of the empire, and even that which devolved on the Venetians, was portioned out into fiefs.

Meagre results.

The results of this memorable event were not as great as might have been imagined. The Latin Empire of Constantinople lasted even a shorter time than the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (only from 1204 to 1261). Venice alone derived material advantage from it, which she did largely. France gained in influence only. Her manners and language, already borne so far by the first crusade, were diffused throughout the East. And long after the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople —about the year 1300—the Catalan, Montaner, assures us that in the principality of the Morea and the duchy of Athens, "they spoke French as well as they did at Paris."

[The University of Paris is founded in 1206; and the Franciscan Order of Mendicant Friars is founded in 1207. The Christian kings in Spain again unite in the league of Mallen (1209); they slay 160,000 Mussulmans in the battle of Navas de Tolosa; the Almohades fall (1212).]

CONQUESTS OF ZINGIS KHAN

(A.D. 1200—1227)

EDWARD GIBBON

FROM the spacious highlands between China, Siberia, and the Caspian Sea, the tide of emigration and war has repeatedly been poured. These ancient seats of the Huns and Turks were occupied in the Twelfth Century by many pastoral tribes of the same descent and similar manners, which were united and led to conquest by the formidable Zingis. In his ascent to greatness, that barbarian (whose private appellation was Temugin) had trampled on the necks of his equals. His birth was noble; but it was in the pride of victory that the prince or people deduced his seventh ancestor from the immaculate conception of a virgin. His father had reigned over thirteen hordes, which composed about thirty or forty thousand families; above two-thirds refused to pay tithes or obedience to his infant son; and, at the age of thirteen, Temugin fought a battle against his rebellious subjects. The future conqueror of Asia was reduced to fly and to obey, but he

Ancestry of Zingis.

Zingis Khan, first emperor of the Moguls and Tartars 1206–1227.

rose superior to his fortune; and, in his fortieth year, he had established his fame and dominion over the circumjacent tribes. In a state of society in which policy is rude and valor is universal, the ascendant of one man must be founded on his power and resolution to punish his enemies and recompense his friends. His first military league was ratified by the simple rites of sacrificing a horse and tasting of a running stream: Temugin pledged himself to divide with his followers the sweets and the bitters of life; and, when he had shared among them his horses and apparel, he was rich in their gratitude and his own hopes. After his first victory, he placed seventy caldrons on the fire, and seventy of the most guilty rebels were cast headlong into the boiling water. The sphere of his attraction was continually enlarged by the ruin of the proud and the submission of the prudent; and the boldest chieftains might tremble when they beheld, incased in silver, the skull of the Khan of the Keraites, who, under the name of Prester John, had corresponded with the Roman Pontiff and the princes of Europe. The ambition of Temugin condescended to employ the arts of superstition; and it was from a naked prophet, who could ascend to heaven on a white horse, that he accepted the title of Zingis, the Most Great; and a divine right to the conquest and dominion of the earth. In a general *couroultai,* or diet, he was

Barbaric rites.

seated on a felt, which was long afterward revered as a relic, and solemnly proclaimed Great Khan, or Emperor of the Moguls and Tartars. Of these kindred though rival names, the former had given birth to the Imperial race; and the latter has been extended, by accident or error, over the spacious wilderness of the north.

The laws of Zingis.

The code of laws which Zingis dictated to his subjects was adapted to the preservation of domestic peace and the exercise of foreign hostility. The punishment of death was inflicted on the crimes of adultery, murder, perjury, and the capital thefts of a horse or ox; and the fiercest of men were mild and just in their intercourse with each other. The future election of the Great Khan was vested in the princes of his family and the heads of the tribes; and the regulations of the chase were essential to the pleasures and plenty of a Tartar camp. The victorious nation was held sacred from all servile labors, which were abandoned to slaves and strangers; and every labor was servile except the profession of arms. The service and discipline of the troops, who were armed with bows, cimeters, and iron maces, and divided by hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands, were the institutions of a veteran commander. Each officer and soldier was made responsible, under pain of death, for the safety and honor of his companions; and the spirit of conquest breathed in the law that

peace should never be granted unless to a vanquished and suppliant enemy. But it is the religion of Zingis that best deserves our wonder and applause. The Catholic institutions of Europe, who defended nonsense by cruelty, might have been confounded by the example of a barbarian, who anticipated the lessons of philosophy and established by his laws a system of pure theism and perfect toleration. His first and only article of faith was the existence of one God, the author of all good, who fills, by his presence, the heavens and earth, which he has created by his power. The Tartars and Moguls were addicted to the idols of their peculiar tribes; and many of them had been converted by the foreign missionaries to the religions of Moses, of Mahomet, and of Christ. These various systems in freedom and concord were taught and practiced within the precincts of the same camp; and the Bonze, the Imam, the Rabbi, the Nestorian, and the Latin priest enjoyed the same honorable exemption from service and tribute. In the mosque of Bochara, the insolent victor might trample the Koran under his horse's feet, but the calm legislator respected the prophets and pontiffs of the most hostile sects. The reason of Zingis was not informed by books; the Khan could neither read nor write; and, except the tribe of the Igours, the greater part of the Moguls and Tartars were as illiterate as their sovereign. The memory of

His religion.

His illiteracy.

their exploits was preserved by tradition; sixty-eight years after the death of Zingis these traditions were collected and transcribed; the brevity of their domestic annals may be supplied by the Chinese, Persians, Armenians, Syrians, Arabians, Greeks, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, and Latins; and each nation will deserve credit in the relation of their own disasters and defeats.

The arms of Zingis and his lieutenants successively reduced the hordes of the desert, who pitched their tents between the wall of China and the Volga; and the Mogul Emperor became the monarch of the pastoral world, the lord of many millions of shepherds and soldiers, who felt their united strength, and were impatient to rush on the mild and wealthy climates of the south. His ancestors had been the tributaries of the Chinese emperors; and Temugin himself had been disgraced by a title of honor and servitude. The court of Pekin was astonished by an embassy from its former vassal, who in the tone of the king of nations exacted the tribute and obedience which he had paid, and who affected to treat the Son of Heaven as the most contemptible of mankind. A haughty answer disguised their secret apprehensions; and their fears were soon justified by the march of innumerable squadrons, who pierced on all sides the feeble rampart of the great wall. Ninety cities were stormed, or starved, by the Mo-

Invasion of China, 1210–1214.

guls; ten only escaped; and Zingis, from a knowledge of the filial piety of the Chinese, covered his vanguard with their captive parents; an unworthy and by degrees a fruitless abuse of the virtues of his enemies. His invasion was supported by the revolt of a hundred thousand Khitans, who guarded the frontier; yet he listened to a treaty; and a princess of China, three thousand horses, five hundred youths, and as many virgins, and a tribute of gold and silk, were the price of his retreat. In his second expedition, he compelled the Chinese Emperor to retire beyond the Yellow River to a more southern residence. The siege of Pekin was long and laborious: the inhabitants were reduced by famine to decimate and devour their fellow-citizens; when their ammunition was spent, they discharged ingots of gold and silver from their engines; but the Moguls introduced a mine to the centre of the capital; and the conflagration of the palace burned above thirty days. China was desolated by Tartar war and domestic faction; and the five northern provinces were added to the empire of Zingis.

Fall of Pekin.

In the West, he touched the dominions of Mohammed, Sultan of Carizme, who reigned from the Persian Gulf to the borders of India and Turkestan; and who, in the proud imitation of Alexander the Great, forgot the servitude and ingratitude of his fathers to the house of Seljuk. It was the wish of Zingis to estab-

lish a friendly and commercial intercourse with the most powerful of the Moslem princes; nor could he be tempted by the secret solicitations of the Caliph of Bagdad, who sacrificed to his personal wrongs the safety of the Church and State. A caravan of three ambassadors and one hundred and fifty merchants was arrested and murdered by Otrar, by the command of Mohammed; nor was it until after a demand and denial of justice, till he had prayed and fasted three nights on a mountain, that the Mogul Emperor appealed to the judgment of God and his sword. Our European battles, says a philosophic writer, are petty skirmishes, if compared to the numbers that have fought and fallen in the fields of Asia. Seven hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars are said to have marched under the standard of Zingis and his four sons. In the vast plains that extend to the north of the Sihon or Jaxartes, they were encountered by four hundred thousand soldiers of the Sultan; and in the first battle, which was suspended by the night, one hundred and sixty thousand Carizmians were slain. Mohammed was astonished by the multitude and valor of his enemies: he withdrew from the scene of danger, and distributed his troops in the frontier towns, trusting that the barbarians, invincible in the field, would be repulsed by the length and difficulty of so many regular sieges. But the prudence of Zingis had formed a body of Chinese en-

Desire for amity with the Moslem Empire.

Vast forces arrayed.

gineers, skilled in the mechanic arts, informed, perhaps, of the secret of gunpowder, and capable, under his discipline, of attacking a foreign country with more vigor and success than they had defended their own. The Persian historians will relate the sieges of and reduction of Otrar, Cogende, Bochara, Samarcand, Carizme, Herat, Merou, Nisabour, Balch, and Candahar; and the conquest of the rich and populous countries of Transoxiana, Carizme, and Chorasan. The destructive hostilities of Attila and the Huns have long since been elucidated by the example of Zingis and the Moguls; and in this more proper place I shall be content to observe that, from the Caspian to the Indus, they ruined a tract of many hundred miles, which was adorned with the habitations and labors of mankind, and that five centuries have not been sufficient to repair the ravages of four years. The Mogul Emperor encouraged or indulged the fury of his troops; the hope of future possessions was lost in the ardor of rapine and slaughter; and the cause of the war exasperated their native fierceness by the pretence of justice and revenge. The downfall and death of the Sultan Mohammed, who expired unpitied and alone in a desert island of the Caspian Sea, is a poor atonement for the calamities of which he was the author. Could the Carizmian Empire have been saved by a single hero, it would have been saved by his son Gelaleddin, whose

Great cities reduced.

Fall of Mohammed

active valor repeatedly checked the Moguls in the career of victory. Retreating, as he fought, to the banks of the Indus, he was oppressed by their innumerable host, till, in the last moment of despair, Gelaleddin spurred his horse into the waves, swam one of the broadest and most rapid rivers of Asia, and extorted the admiration and applause of Zingis himself. It was in this camp that the Mogul Emperor yielded with reluctance to the murmurs of his weary and wealthy troops, who sighed for the enjoyment of their native land. Incumbered with the spoils of Asia, he slowly measured back his footsteps, betrayed some pity for the misery of the vanquished, and declared his intention of rebuilding the cities which had been swept away by the tempest of his arms. After he had repassed the Oxus and Jaxartes, he was joined by two generals, whom he had detached with thirty thousand horse, to subdue the western provinces of Persia. They had trampled on the nations which opposed their passage, penetrated through the gates of Derbent, traversed the Volga and the desert, and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea, by an expedition which had never been attempted and has never been repeated. The return of Zingis was signalized by the overthrow of the rebellious or independent kingdoms of Tartary; and he died in the fulness of years and glory, with his last breath exhorting and instructing his

Conquests of the generals of Zingis.

sons to achieve the conquest of the Chinese Empire.

The harem of Zingis was composed of five hundred wives and concubines; and of his numerous progeny, four sons, illustrious by their birth and merit, exercised under their father the principal offices of peace and war. Toushi was his great huntsman, Zagatai his judge, Octai his minister, and Tuli his general; and their names and actions are often conspicuous in the history of his conquests.

His successors.

Firmly united for their own and the public interest, the three brothers and their families were contented with dependent sceptres; and Octai, by general consent, was proclaimed Great Khan, or Emperor, of the Moguls and Tartars. He was succeeded by his son Gayuk, after whose death the Empire devolved to his cousins, Mangou and Cublai, the sons of Tuli, and the grandsons of Zingis. In the sixty-eight years of his first four successors, the Moguls subdued almost all Asia and a large portion of Europe.

CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES

(A.D. 1208—1229)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

THE Papacy reached its noonday under Innocent III., who wore the tiara from 1198 to 1216. He it was who brought John to lay the crown of England at the foot of the papal chair. But we have here to speak briefly of his dealings with a nobler race than such as John—the Albigenses of Southern France.

Innocent III.

Among the vines of Languedoc dwelt a people who spoke the rich musical Provençal, in which the troubadours sang of love and war. This intelligent and accomplished race looked with contempt on the vices of their clergy, as well they might, for their bishops were *roués* of high rank, and their curates mere ignorant hinds taken from the trencher or the plow. Hungering after a deeper teaching and a holier discipline than was common in their days, they scorned the dry husks of Rome; and drawing aside from the established pale, formed themselves into a separate religious society, in which they strove to realize on earth

Spiritual hunger of the Albigenses.

the divine ideal of the Church, as a holy nation, a peculiar people, a brotherhood of saints.

Tenets of the Albigenses.

With some peculiar tenets of their own, closely resembling those of the ancient Manichees, and which subjected them not altogether without ground to the charge of a heretical tendency, they were yet in some points faithful witnesses for the truth, and pioneers of that great Reformation struggle that was yet to come. In an age of rampant superstition and lifeless formalism they testified both by word and deed for the spirituality of religion, and of the worship of God; and even their errors were probably in large measure only an excessive reaction against the prevailing evils of the times. They denied the doctrine of the real corporeal presence. They denounced all images as idols. Their worship was simple and unadorned; and sumptuous ceremonial and gorgeous priestly vestments were alike eschewed. The holy volume lay open on the table, which, in their places of worship, supplanted the pompous altar; and the simple preaching of the word formed the most prominent feature of the service. They abounded in mortifications and fastings, and were distinguished, even by the confession of enemies, by a strictness of life which was then rare, and which went the length even of an ascetic severity.

Origin of their name.

They received the name Albigèois, or Albigenses, from the town of Albi. They have

been often classed, and, save for the serious heretical leaven above referred to, not unworthily, with the Waldenses, who cherished the truths of Christianity in singular simplicity and purity during long ages of darkness among the valleys of Piedmont.

Innocent, looking jealously upon these men, sent monks to watch them. One of these legates was stabbed to death by a retainer of Raymond, Count of Toulouse. And then the war blazed out.

The war breaks out.

Dominic Guzman, a Spanish monk, took the lead in stirring up this crusade. In his dealings with the poor villagers of Languedoc, we trace the first sign of that terrible engine of the Romish Church, the Inquisition, which began its deadly working formally in 1233 under Gregory IX., and continued to scorch Italy and Spain with its baleful fires until the close of the Eighteenth Century.

Wearing a cross on the breast instead of the shoulder, the crusaders, encouraged by the most unbounded promises of absolution from sin, moved with joy from all parts of France to a field of plunder and bloodshed so near and so promising. The main body of the army descended the valley of the Rhone, entering Languedoc by the Mediterranean shore. Tumultuous mobs, armed with clubs and scythes, followed in their track.

The camp-followers.

When he saw the terrors of war approaching, the Count of Toulouse, cringing to the

lègate, underwent sore humiliation to prove his penitence. But his nephew, young Raymond Roger, showed a bolder front. Dividing his forces between his strongest cities, Beziers and Carcassonne, this young noble withdrew to the latter to await the attack. The citizens of Beziers made a hot dash upon the besiegers as they were marking out a camp. But an overwhelming force driving back the *sortie,* pressed in through the open gates, and remained masters of the city. And then began a terrific scene of blood. Arnold Amalric, the legate, was asked by some officers how they were to know the heretics from the true sons of Rome. "Kill them all," said he, "the Lord will know well those who are his." Sixty thousand were slain, and the town was burned to ashes.

Capture of Beziers.

Carcassonne held out until the water began to fail. The garrison escaped by an underground passage nine miles long. Raymond Roger, surrendering, died in prison within three months; and his territories were bestowed on Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who henceforward was the great captain of the war.

In the summer of 1210, Montfort laid siege to the Castle of Minerva near Narbonne, which, perched on a steep crag, was looked upon as the strongest place in the land. For seven weeks the Albigenses held out; but then their cisterns ran dry. Led to hope that their

The Castle of Minerva.

lives would be spared, they gave up the castle. But they soon found that, if they wished to live, they must confess the doctrines of Rome to be true. A heap of dry wood, filling the courtyard, was set on fire, and more than one hundred and forty men and women leaped willingly into the flames rather than deny their faith.

The whole of that land of deep-green valleys was then ravaged by Montfort and his pilgrims, as the persecuting soldiery were called. As another specimen, take the story of La Vaur.

La Vaur.

This castle, lying fifteen miles from Toulouse, had long opened its hospitable gates to those Albigenses who were driven from their homes by the flames. It was looked on by the crusaders as a very nest of heresy. Five thousand men of Toulouse, banded together as the White Company, advanced to the siege. Strange and terrible engines of war fronted the walls. One of them was the *cat*—a medieval form of the old battering-ram. It was a great wooden tower, covered with sheepskin, from whose side a heavy beam, studded with iron claws, struck and tore at the masonry till a breach was made. At first Montfort could not reach the wall, for as fast as he filled up the ditch the garrison cleared away the earth. At length, however, dislodging them from their subterranean passages with fire, he got the cat to work, and made a practicable

The White Company.

breach. As the knights clambered up the ruined wall, the priests, clad in full robes, chanted a hymn of joy. When the sword and the gallows had done their deadly work, a vast crowd of the captives were burned alive.

Raymond, Count of Toulouse, at last plucked up heart to face the invaders. An alliance was formed between the Albigenses and Pedro, King of Aragon. At Muret, nine miles from Toulouse, a battle was fought, in which Don Pedro was slain, and the victory rested with Montfort. The iron-clad knights of northern France were as yet more than a match for the light horse of Spain and the defenceless infantry of the Pyrenees.

Battle of Muret.

This crushing blow struck terror into the hearts of the Albigenses. The war seemed to be over, and the crusaders went home.

Prince Louis.

In 1215, we find Prince Louis, son of Philip Augustus, taking the cross against the heretics. The time allotted for the pilgrimage was six weeks, during which the chief pleasures were to be living at discretion in Languedoc, pillaging houses and castles, and singing the hymn "Veni Creator" round the burning heretics. But for that time, at least, the pleasant programme was not fulfilled, for Montfort took good care to get Louis as quickly and quietly as possible out of the land which he had conquered for himself. Toulouse and Narbonne were the two capitals of Montfort's rule.

The citizens of the former revolted, in-

spired with new courage on the return of Count Raymond. In the attempt to retake the city, Simon de Montfort was killed by the blow of a great stone on the head.

Death of Montfort.

Still the war continued with the same terrible bloodshed under the same pretence of religious zeal. But the Albigenses grew weaker. Raymond VI. died in 1222, worn out by care and age. Seven years later, his son, Raymond VII., yielded up all his territory to the King of France, receiving back a part to be held as a fief. This arrangement was called the Peace of Paris. Some vain struggles followed, for the spirit of the Albigenses was yet alive, though sorely crushed. However, the final ratification of the peace in 1242 completed the conquest of Languedoc.

Peace of Paris.

This was not only a religious persecution, but had a distinct political aim. Guizot well describes it as the re-establishment of the feudal system in the south of France, when an attempt had been made to organize society there on democratic principles. So completely was the nationality of the Albigenses trampled out, that their beautiful tongue—the *Langue d'Oc,* the sweet *Provençal* of the troubadour ballads—perished forever, as a distinct speech, from among the tongues of Europe.

THE MAGNA CHARTA

(A.D. 1215)

J. F. BRIGHT

WHILE he had been, even in the pursuit of national objects, estranging by his tyrannical conduct his own subjects, John had been carrying on his opposition to the Pope outside the limits of the kingdom; and events in Europe were rapidly approaching a crisis. Otho, the Guelphic Emperor, upon the death of his rival, had so completely succeeded, that in 1209 he had been solemnly crowned Emperor in Italy. But no sooner had he gained his object than the inevitable rivalry between Pope and Emperor again arose, and in a few years he had forfeited the Pontiff's favor so completely as to become the object of his greatest hatred; he had even been excommunicated, while the Pope found a new protégé in the young Frederick of Sicily, whose anti-papal tendencies were not at that time suspected. Similarity of circumstances rendered still closer the bond of union between John and his nephew, and in 1211 a league of excommunicated leaders was

John opposes the Pope.

formed, including all the princes of the North of Europe; Ferrand of Flanders, the Duke of Brabant, John, and Otho, were all members of it, and it was chiefly organized by the activity of Reinald of Dammartin, Count of Boulogne. The chief enemy of most of these confederates was Philip of France; and John thought he saw in this league the means of revenge against his old enemy.

League with Northern princes.

To complete the line of demarcation between the two parties, Innocent, who was greatly moved by the description of the disorders and persecutions in England, declared John's crown forfeited, and intrusted the carrying out of the sentence to Philip. In 1213, armies were collected on both sides, Philip was already on the Channel, and John had assembled a large army on Barhamdown, not far from Canterbury. But Innocent probably never intended to proceed to extremities. To embroil two Christian nations would have been to thwart one of his greatest objects, which was a new crusade. But he knew his man; he knew the weakness which was hidden under the violence and ostentatious passion of John, and he also well knew from his emissaries in England the widespread disaffection there. While the army was still lying in its camp, there appeared at Dover Pandulf, as the Pope's legate. He demanded and obtained an audience with the King, and there explained to him the gravity of his position.

John is deposed.

He found means to bring home to his mind the perfect insecurity of his position at home, while John, from his own experience, knew both the power and the skill of Philip. The consciousness of his danger destroyed his boastful obstinacy, and he made an unconditional submission. The paper which he signed was drawn up almost in the very words of the demands of Pandulf. He offered to plead before the Papal Court; he promised peace and a good reception to Langton, the other bishops, and banished laity; he was to restore all Church property, and to make restitution for all loss since the interdict. Having accepted these conditions, the King went further. On the 15th of May, at Dover, he formally resigned the crowns of England and Ireland into the hands of Pandulf, and received them again as the Pope's feudatory.

Surrender of the crown to the Pope.

It was not without ulterior objects that John took this disgraceful step. He believed that he saw in it a way out of all his difficulties, and the means of revenging himself upon his enemies. He had no intention of allowing his new position to interfere with his continental alliances, and it was to their success that he looked to re-establish his power. When Philip of France was no longer the agent of Papal authority, he believed that it would be possible for him to resist the storm that was gathering round him. He expected that one great victory would go far to give him back

John's improved position.

his lost French dominions, when the prestige of success, the friendship of the Church, and the increase of power derived from his regained dominions, would make him master of the situation in England. At first all seemed to work as he wished. Pandulf immediately hurried to France, and forbade Philip to attack the Pope's new vassal. The opportune attacks of Ferrand of Flanders diverted the French army toward the dominions of that prince; the English fleet which was sent to assist the Flemings destroyed the whole French shipping in the port of Damme; the Archbishop Langton was received with honor, John threw himself at his feet, reconciled himself with the Church, issued writs to all the churches to inquire into the amount of damages to be restored, and ordered a great council to meet at St. Albans to settle finally the restitution of the Church property. He then summoned his barons to meet him, and join him in an attack upon Poitou. But he was mistaken, both in the character of the Churchman, in whom he hoped to find an obedient servant of the Papal See, and in the amount of dissatisfaction among his nobles. The barons of the North refused to follow him, and the meeting at St. Albans resulted, not in a settlement of Church difficulties, but in the open declaration of the complaints of all classes. A few weeks after, Langton, who had seen through the character of John, and was

Destruction of the French fleet

Langton abandons John.

Renewed difficulties with Stephen Langton.

full of hatred of his tyranny, met an assembly of malcontents at St. Paul's in London, and there declaring that he had found documentary proof of their rights, produced the coronation charter of Henry I., which was at once accepted by the barons as the declaration of the views and demands of their party.

In the meantime, two events had happened disastrous to the royal cause. Nicholas of Tusculum had arrived as Papal legate, and the justiciary Godfrey Fitz-Peter had died. The legate, ignorant of the feelings of the English, and eager to support and make real the Papal authority, had thoroughly adopted the King's cause. He threatened the clergy unless they at once accepted the arrangements which the King offered; and although it was the very thing which had before excited the anger of the Pope, he proceeded to fill vacant benefices with the devoted adherents of the royal party. In the place of the experienced Fitz-Peter, who, however far he might have strained the administrative power of the crown, had yet exercised a wholesome restraint on the King, Peter des Roches was raised to the office of justiciary, and appointed to be the representative of the crown during John's absence in France. The people saw themselves, as they thought, both in spiritual and temporal matters in the hands of the tyrant. A great success abroad might yet have checked the growing disaffection. The King

Peter des Roches appointed justiciary.

led an army to Rochelle. At first he was successful everywhere. He overran Poitou, and crossing the Loire captured Anger, but the Poitevin barons had been too deeply injured by him to be faithful friends; their disaffection soon compelled him to retire. But the great confederation was at work upon all sides. The Count of Flanders was pressing in upon the North, Otho was advancing from Germany. In July a junction was made at Valenciennes. Thither Philip now betook himself; he was followed faithfully by most of his great nobles, and by the militia of the chartered cities. The whole success of his policy was at stake. A defeat would ruin the object of his life—the establishment of the royal power in France. For Otho too the stake was high; the triumph of the Guelphic house in its long war against the Hohenstaufen would be the fruit of victory. For such prizes the battle of Bouvines was fought, at a small place upon the little river Marque. The fortune of the day was with the French; in all directions they were victorious. Both for Otho and John the defeat may be said to have been final; the Emperor withdrew to his hereditary dominions in Brunswick, where, after some not very important fighting, he died in 1218. John returned, having lost his last hope of re-establishing his power at home by foreign conquests.

Successes of John.

Battle of Bouvines.

He returned to England to find himself in a worse position than ever; for Innocent had

found out the errors his legate had committed, and recalled him; and John had lost another of his most trusty counsellors by the death of the Bishop of Norwich. Thus left to his own resources, with his usual folly he took the opportunity of demanding a heavy scutage from those barons who had not followed him abroad. The nobles of the North rose. A meeting was held in November at Bury St. Edmunds, and it was there determined that they would make their formal demands upon the King in arms at Christmas time. John was keeping his Christmas at Worcester; but having no doubt heard of the action of the barons, hurried to London, where they appeared before him in arms. He demanded till Easter for consideration. The time was given him. He used it in an attempt to sow dissension among his enemies. He granted to the Church the free right of election, hoping thereby to draw Langton from the confederation. He took the oaths of the crusader to put himself more immediately under the guardianship of the Church, and hastily summoned troops of mercenaries from Poitou.

Insurrection in England.

The barons at once reassembled at Brackley. At their head was Fitz-Walter, an old enemy of the King, and William Marshall, son of the Earl of Pembroke. Their strength consisted of the nobles of the North—and they were spoken of as the Northerners—but many barons from other parts of England joined

Meeting at Brackley.

them, and in spite of various compromises offered by the King, they laid siege to the castle of Northampton. They there received messages of adherence from the Mayor and citizens of London, into which city they were received in May; and thus masters of the greater part of England, and of the capital, they compelled John to receive them and hear their demands at Runnymede, a meadow by the Thames's side not far from Staines. There was signed, on the 15th of June, the paper of forty-nine articles, which they presented, and which were afterward drawn up into the shape of the sixty-three articles of the Great Charter.

Capture of London.

Runnymede.

That Great Charter was the joint work of the insurgent lords, and of those who still in name remained faithful to the crown. In many points this rising of the barons bears the appearance of an ordinary feudal insurrection. Closer examination proves that it was of a different character. The very success of Henry II. in his great plan of national regeneration had tended to change the character of English politics. Till his time, the bulk of the people had regarded the crown on the whole as a defence against their feudal tyrants. In the pursuit of good government he had crushed the feudal nobles, and had welded Norman and English into one nation. In so doing, he had greatly increased the royal power; for in those early times good government invariably implied a strong mon-

Henry the Second's work.

archy. In patriotic hands his work might have continued. But when the increased royal power passed to reckless rulers, such as Richard and John, it enabled them to play the part of veritable tyrants. They had used this power in ruthlessly pillaging the people. The great justiciaries, Hubert and Fitz-Peter, content with keeping order and retaining constitutional forms, had almost of necessity lent themselves to this course, while lesser officials had undoubtedly acted with arbitrary violence. The interests of the King and his ministers had thus become separated from those of the nation. To oppose this tyranny, nobles and people could now act in concert. The struggle was no longer between King and people on one side against the nobles on the other, but nobles and people had joined against the King. Besides this political change, a great revolution had taken place in the character of the nobility itself. The feudal nobles, the friends of the Conqueror, had for the most part given place to a new nobility, the sons of the counsellors and ministers of Henry II. In the centre of England alone did remnants of the old feudal families remain. The insurrection then, coming from the North, was the work not of feudal barons but of the new ministerial baronage. Again, the claims raised, although, inasmuch as the monarchy was still in form a feudal monarchy, they bear a resemblance to feudal

The crown and nation in antagonism.

claims, were such as might have been expected from men trained in the habits of administration. They were claims for the redress of abuses of constitutional power, and were based upon a written document. In addition to this, they were supported by the clergy, who were never and could never be feudal in their views, and by the towns, whose interests were always opposed to those of the feudal nobility. There is another thing to be recollected; the Charter, as ultimately granted, was not the same as the demands of the barons. A considerable number of the older barons, of the bishops, and even the archbishop himself, remained ostensibly true to the King, and were present at Runnymede as his followers. We are told that it was the younger nobles who formed the strength of the reforming party. Nevertheless, with the exception of the King's actual ministers, and of those foreigners the introduction of whom was one of his gravest errors, the whole of John's own following acknowledged the justice of the baronial claims, sympathized with the demands raised, and joined in putting them into the best shape. The movement was in fact, even where not in form, national.

Character of the claims.

The terms of the Charter were in accordance with this state of affairs. To the Church were secured its rights and the freedom of election (1). To the feudal tenants just arrangements in the matters of wardship, of

Terms of the Charter.

heirship, widowhood, and marriage (2-8). Scutage and aids, which John had from the beginning of his reign taken as a matter of course, were henceforward to be granted by the great council of the kingdom, except in three cases, the deliverance of the king from prison, the knighting of his eldest son, and the marriage of his eldest daughter (12). The same right was secured by the immediate tenants to their sub-tenants. The great council was to consist of archbishops, bishops, and abbots, counts and greater barons, summoned severally by writ, and of the rest of the tenants-in-chief, summoned by general writ to the sheriff (14). The lands of sub-tenants, seized by the king for treason or felony, were to be held by him for a year only, and then to be handed over to the tenant's immediate lord (32). Similarly the crown was no longer to claim wardship in the case of sub-tenants, nor to change the custom of escheated baronies, nor to fill up vacancies in private abbeys (43, 46). These are all distinct regulations of feudal relations. The more general acts of tyranny of the crown were guarded against, by fixing the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster (17); by the settlement of land processes by itinerant justices in the counties where the disputes arose (18); by the limitations of punishments within reasonable limits (20-22); by the restriction of the powers of constables, sheriffs, and other royal officers, both in the

General tyranny guarded against.

matter of royal lawsuits and of purveyance (28-31); by an article (36), which is held to foreshadow the Habeas Corpus Act, stipulating the immediate trial of prisoners; and by other articles (38-40), which are held to foreshadow trial by jury, and which forbid the passing of sentence except on the verdict of a man's equals, and witness upon oath. Other points secured their liberties to the free towns and to merchants. This Charter was to be guaranteed by the appointment of a committee of twenty-five nobles, any four of whom might claim redress for infractions of it, and upon refusal proceed to make war upon the king.

Trial by jury.

This Charter, which with its final clause implied absolute submission, John never intended to keep. No sooner were his first ebullitions of anger over than he proceeded to take steps for destroying it. Messengers were at once sent to Rome to get it annulled, and to Poitou to collect mercenaries. Troops came over in crowds, and the barons in alarm ordered William D'Albini to attack the castle of Rochester. He seized it, but was there besieged, and compelled to surrender to John's mercenaries. All the common men of the garrison were hanged. John's other message was equally successful. A letter from Innocent announced that he totally disallowed the Charter, and ordered Langton to excommunicate the King's enemies. This he refused

John's bad faith.

to do, and other excommunications and interdicts were also futile. John's temporal weapons were more successful. He overran England with his mercenaries, and the barons found themselves obliged to summon Louis of France to their assistance. Louis' wife was John's niece, and they probably intended to use this connection to change the dynasty.

John's vengeance.

His success was not very rapid, though at first he seemed to have the game in his hands. He wasted his time and lost his opportunity before the castles of Dover and Windsor. His conduct also in bestowing fiefs upon his French followers began to excite the jealousy of the English; and John's cause was again wearing a more hopeful appearance, when, marching from Lincoln, which he had lately conquered, he crossed the Wash, with all his supplies which he had lately drawn from Lynn. The rise of the tide destroyed the whole of his train, and, broken by his loss, or perhaps poisoned, or perhaps a victim to his greediness, he died on the 19th of October at Newark. In July of the same year he had lost his great protector, Innocent III.

John's death.

[Andrew, King of Hungary, begins the Fifth Crusade in 1218; Damietta is taken and Cairo threatened in 1219; but the army is utterly ruined in 1221. The first Norwegian parliament (Storthing) is held at Bergen by Haco I. in 1223.]

ORDER OF THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS

(A.D. 1226)

HENRY HART MILMAN

THE order of the Knights Templars had come to a disastrous and ignominious end. The Knights of St. John or of the Hospital, now that the Holy Land was irrecoverably lost, had planted themselves in Rhodes, as a strong outpost and bulwark of Christendom, which they held for some centuries against the Turco-Mohammedan power; and, when it fell, almost buried themselves in its ruins. At the same time, less observed, less envied, less famous, the Teutonic Order was winning to itself from heathendom (more after the example of Charlemagne than of Christ's Apostles) a kingdom, of which the Order was, for a time, to be the Sovereign, and which hereafter, conjoined with one of the great German principalities, was to become an important state, the kingdom of Prussia.

The Teutonic Order

The Orders of the Temple and of St. John owed, the former their foundation, the latter their power and wealth, to noble knights. They were military and aristocratic brother-

hoods, which hardly deigned to receive, at least in their higher places, any but those of gentle birth. The founders of the Teutonic Order were honest, decent, and charitable burghers of Lübeck and Bremen. After the disasters which followed the death of Frederick Barbarossa, when the army was wasting away with disease and famine before Acre, these merchants from the remote shores of the Baltic ran up the sails of their ships into tents to receive the sick and starving. They were joined by the brethren of a German hospital, which had been before founded in Jerusalem, and had been permitted by the contemptuous compassion of Saladin to remain for some time in the city. Duke Frederick of Swabia saw the advantage of a German Order, both to maintain the German interests and to relieve the necessities of German pilgrims. Their first house was in Acre.

How the Order was founded.

But it was not till the Mastership of Herman of Salza that the Teutonic Order emerged into distinction. That remarkable man adhered in unshaken fidelity to the fortunes of the Emperor Frederick II.; and Frederick no doubt more highly honored the Teutonic Order because it was commanded by Herman of Salza, and more highly esteemed Herman of Salza as master of an Order which alone in Palestine did not thwart, oppose, insult the German Emperor. It is the noblest testimony to the wisdom, unimpeached virtue, honor,

Herman of Salza.

and religion of Herman of Salza, that the successive popes, Honorius III., Gregory IX., Innocent IV., who agreed with Frederick in nothing else, with whom attachment to Frederick was enmity and treason to the Church, or absolute impiety, nevertheless vied with the Emperor in the honor and respect paid to the master Herman, and in grants and privileges to his Teutonic Knights.

The Order, now entirely withdrawn, as become useless, from the Holy Land, had found a new sphere for their crusading valor: the subjugation and conversion of the heathen nations to the southeast and the east of the Baltic. Theirs was a complete Mohammedan invasion, the gospel or the sword. The avowed object was the subjugation, the extermination, if they would not be subjugated, of the Prussian, Lithuanian, Esthonian, and other kindred or conterminous tribes, because they were infidels. They had refused to listen to the pacific preachers of the gospel, and pacific preachers had not been wanting. Martyrs to the faith had fallen on the dreary sands of Prussia, in the forests and morasses of Livonia and Esthonia.

A new field of activity.

The Pope and the Emperor concurred in this alone—in their right to grant away all lands, it might be kingdoms, won from unbelievers. The Charter of Frederick II. runs in a tone of as haughty supremacy as those of Honorius, Gregory, or Innocent IV.

Frederick's haughty Charter.

These tribes had each their religion, the dearer to them as the charter of their liberty. It was wild, no doubt superstitious and sanguinary. They burned slaves, like other valuables, on the graves of their departed great men.

For very many years the remorseless war went on. The Prussians rose and rose again in revolt; but the inexhaustible Order pursued its stern course. It became the perpetual German crusade. Wherever there was a martial and restless noble, who found no adventure, or no enemy, in his immediate neighborhood; wherever the indulgences and rewards of this religious act, the fighting for the Cross, were wanted, without the toil, peril, and cost of a journey to the Holy Land, the old but now decried, now unpopular crusade; whoever desired more promptly and easily to wash off his sins in the blood of the unbeliever, rushed into the Order, and either enrolled himself as a Knight, or served for a time under the banner. There is hardly a princely or a noble house in Germany which did not furnish some of its illustrious names to the roll of Teutonic Knights.

Perpetual German crusade.

So at length, by their own good swords, and what they no doubt deemed a more irrefragable title, the grants of Popes and Emperors, the Order became Sovereigns; a singular sovereignty, which descended, not by hereditary succession, but by the incorporation of new

Sovereignty of the Order.

Knights into the Order. The whole land became the absolute property of the Order, to be granted out but to Christians only; apostasy forfeited all title to land. Their subjects were of two classes: I. The old Prussian, converted to Christianity after the conquest. Baptism was the only way to become a freeman, a man. The conquered unbeliever who remained an unbeliever was the slave, the property of his master, as much as his horse or hound. The three ranks which subsisted among the Prussians, as in most of the Teutonic and kindred tribes, remained under Christianity and the sovereignty of the Order. The great land-owners, the owners of castles, held immediately of the Order: their estates had descended from heathen times. These were: 1, the Withings; 2, the lower vassals; and, 3, those which answered to the Leudes and Lita of the Germans, retained their rank and place in the social scale. All were bound to obey the call to war, to watch and ward; to aid in building and fortifying the castles and strongholds of the Order. II. The German immigrants or colonists. These were all equally under the feudal sovereignty of the Order. The cities and towns were all German. The Prussian seems to have disdained or to have had no inclination to the burgher-life. There were also German villages, each under its Schultheiss, and with its own proper government.

Subjects of two classes.

Vassals of the Pope and of the Emperor.

Thus was Christendom pushing forward its borders. These new provinces were still added to the dominion of Latin Christianity. The Pope grants, the Teutonic Order hold their realm on the conjoint authority of the successor of Cæsar and of St. Peter. As a religious order, they are the unreluctant vassals of the Pope; as Teutons, they owe some undefined subordination to the Emperor.

Fifth Crusade.

Sixth Crusade.

[In 1224, Russia suffers the first Mongol invasion. Castile and Leon are united under one crown in 1230. Frederick II. heads the Fifth Crusade in 1228, and obtains the restitution of Jerusalem and several other cities, which the Christians hold till 1244. Mohammed I. founds the kingdom of Granada in 1238. Origin of the Hanseatic League, 1245. In 1235, the Karismian Turks, driven forward by the Mongols, invade Palestine. They sack and burn Jerusalem. St. Louis of France sets out on the Sixth Crusade in 1248. He sails to Egypt, takes Damietta (1249); is taken prisoner on his march to Cairo; released in 1250; sails to Acre and there wastes four years, unable to visit Jerusalem. The Mamelukes assassinate the Sultan and make themselves masters of Egypt (1250). Alfonso XII. of Castile has the Astronomical Tables compiled (1253). Huluku, brother of the great Khan, enters Persia, becomes Sultan and extirpates the Assassins

(1256). The Augustin Friars are established (1256). In 1261, Michael Paleologus, with Genoese help, reconquers Constantinople from the Latins. Baldwin and the principal nobles escape to Italy.]

THE BARONS' WAR AND FIRST ENGLISH PARLIAMENT

(A.D. 1257–1265)

WILLIAM STUBBS

THE struggle opens at the parliament held at Mid-Lent at Westminster, in 1257, when the King presented his son Edmund to the barons as King of Sicily, and announced that he had pledged the kingdom to the Pope for 140,000 marks. He demanded an aid, a tenth of all church revenue, and the income of all vacant benefices for five years. The clergy remonstrated. The ears of all tingled, says the historian, and their hearts died within them, but he succeeded in obtaining 52,000 marks, and was encouraged to try again. This he did the next year, 1258, at a parliament held soon after Easter at London. Every one brought up his grievances; the King insisted on having money. The Pope had pledged himself to the merchants, Henry had pledged himself to the Pope; was all Christendom to be bankrupt? The barons listened with impatience; at last the time was come for reform, and the King was obliged

Parliament of 1258.

to yield. On May 2 he consented that a parliament should be called at Oxford within a month after Whitsuntide, and that then and there a commission of twenty-four persons should be constituted, twelve members of the royal council already chosen and twelve elected by the barons; then if the barons would do their best to get the King out of his difficulties by a pecuniary aid, he would, with the advice of these twenty-four, draw up measures for the reform of the state of the kingdom, the royal household and the Church.

Parliament at Oxford.

At Oxford the Parliament met on June 11, and the barons presented a long list of grievances which they insisted should be reformed. If this list be compared with the list of grievances on which Magna Charta was drawn up, it will be found that many points are common to the two documents. We may thus infer that notwithstanding the constant confirmations of the charters which were issued by the King, the observance of them was evaded by violence or by chicanery; that the King enforced some of the most offensive feudal rights, and that his officers found little check on their exactions. Castles had been multiplied, the itinerant judges had made use of their office to exact large sums in the shape of fines, and the sheriffs had oppressed the country in the same way. English fortresses had been placed in the hands of foreigners, and the forest laws had been disregarded. A

great number of other evil customs are now recounted.

These grievances were to be redressed before the end of the year; and the aliens were to be removed at once from all places of trust. But this was not the most critical part of the business. The Provisions of Oxford, as they were called, were intended to be much more than an enforcement of Magna Charta; a body of twenty-four was chosen, twelve by the King, twelve by the earls and barons, to reform the grievances. It is this framework of government, the permanent council of fifteen, the three annual parliaments, the representation of the community of the realm through twelve representative barons, that is historically known as the Constitution of the Provisions of Oxford. Henry was again and again forced to swear to it, and to proclaim it throughout the country. The grievances of the barons were met by a set of ordinances called the Provisions of Westminster, which were produced after some trouble in October, 1259. Before the scheme had begun to work the foreign favorites and kinsmen fled from the court and were allowed to quit the country with some scanty remnant of their ill-gotten gains. Their departure left the royalist members of the new administration in a hopeless minority.

Provisions of Oxford.

England had now, it would appear, adopted a new form of government, but it must have

been already sufficiently clear that so many rival interests and ambitious leaders would not work together, that Henry would avail himself of the first pretext for repudiating his promises, and that a civil war would almost certainly follow. The first year of this provisional government passed away quietly. The King of the Romans, who returned from Germany in January, 1259, was obliged to swear to the provisions. In November, Henry went to France, returning in April, 1260. Immediately on his return he began to intrigue for the overthrow of the government, sent for absolution to Rome, and prepared for war. Edward, his eldest son, tried to prevent him from breaking his word, but before the King had begun the contest the two great earls had quarrelled; Gloucester could not bear Leicester, Leicester could not bear a rival. A general reconciliation was the prelude as usual to a general struggle. In February, 1261, Henry repudiated his oath, and seized the Tower. In June, he produced a papal Bull which absolved him from his oath to observe the Provisions. The chiefs of the government, Leicester and Gloucester, took up arms, but they avoided a battle. The summer was occupied with preparations for a struggle, and peace was made in the winter. In 1262, Henry went again to France for six months, and on his return again swore to the Provisions; that year the Earl of Gloucester died,

Disunion among the barons.

Gloucester and Leicester quarrel.

and Edward began to draw nearer to his father. Simon was without a rival, and no doubt created in Edward that spirit of jealous mistrust which never again left him. The next year was one of open war. The young Earl of Gloucester refused to swear allegiance to Edward; Simon insisted that the pertinacious aliens should be again expelled. Twice if not three times in this year Henry was forced to confirm the Provisions; but Edward saw that they had now become a mere form under which the sovereignty of Simon de Montfort was scarcely hidden; and the increasing conviction of this induced the barons to refer the whole question to the arbitration of Louis IX. of France. This was done on December 16, 1263. The conduct of the barons after the award of Louis IX. seems to place them in the wrong, and to show either that Simon de Montfort's views had developed, under the late changes, in the direction of personal ambition and selfish ends, or that other causes were at work of which we have no information. Both parties equally bound themselves to abide by the arbitration.

The Barons' War, 1263.

Henry took the wise course of being personally present on the occasion and taking his son Edward with him. Some of the barons also appeared in person, but not the Earl of Leicester, who was supporting the Welsh princes in their war with Mortimer, a method of continuing the struggle which was neither

honest nor patriotic. At Amiens, Louis heard the cause, and did not long hesitate about his answer, which was delivered on January 23, 1264. By this award the King of France entirely annulled the Provisions of Oxford, and all engagements which had been made respecting them. Not content with doing this in general terms, he forbade the making of new statutes, as proposed and carried out in the Provisions of Westminster, ordered the restoration of the royal castles to the King, restored to him the power of nominating the officers of state and the sheriffs, the nomination of whom had been withdrawn from him by the Provisions of Oxford; he annulled the order that natives of England alone should govern the realm of England, and added that the King should have full and free power in his kingdom as he had had in time past. The arbitrator, however, added that all the charters issued before the time of the Provisions should hold good, and that all parties should condone enmities and injuries arising from the late troubles.

Award of Amiens.

Louis mentions as his chief motive for thus giving the verdict practically in the King's favor, the fact that the Provisions had already been annulled by the Pope, and the parties bound by them released from their oaths.

Motives of the verdict.

The award was entirely in favor of the crown. The new form of government was already giving way, and both parties might have

and ought to have submitted to the sentence. Henry had had a severe lesson, and might not offend again; the baronage had had their chance, and had been found wanting both in unity of aim and in administrative power. Neither party, however, acquiesced in the admonition, and each of course laid on the other the blame of disregarding a judgment by which both had sworn to stand. At first the war was continued on the Welsh marches principally; Edward's forces assisting Mortimer, and Montfort continuing to support Llewelyn, the Prince of Wales, his opponent. But when the King returned from France, as he did in February, the struggle became general.

Effects of the award.

Responsibility of the struggle.

The responsibility of this rests unquestionably with Simon de Montfort; how far he was justified by the greatness of the necessity, is another question. He had the sympathy of the Londoners, which was probably shared by the burghers of the great towns, that of the clergy, except those who were led by the Pope entirely, of the universities, and of the great body of the people. The barons by themselves would have treated with the King; they would probably have thrown over Earl Simon, if only they could have got rid of the foreigners, and had England for the English. On March 31, however, while negotiations were proceeding, the Londoners broke into riot against the King, and he in his anger put an end to the consultation. The war began favor-

Military successes of the King and of Simon de Montfort

ably for the King; Northampton was taken, Nottingham opened her gates, and Tutbury, the castle of the Ferrers, surrendered to Edward. Earl Simon had his successes, too, and captured Warwick. Both parties then turned southward. Earl Simon besieged Rochester, the King marched to relieve it. Henry also took Tunbridge, the Earl of Gloucester's castle, for the young Earl of Gloucester was now on the barons' side; then he collected his forces at Lewes, where he arrived in the first week of May.

Varying fortunes.

Lewes castle belonged to the Earl of Warenne, who had throughout stood on the King's side. The barons also collected their host in the immediate neighborhood; but before fighting they made one bid for peace. The two bishops who were the chief political advisers of the barons—the Bishops of Worcester and London—brought the proposition to the King; they would give 50,000 marks in payment for damages done in the late struggle, if he would confirm the Provisions of Oxford. The offer was sealed by the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, and dated on May 13. The King returned an answer of defiance, which was accompanied by a formal challenge on the part of the King of the Romans, Edward, and the rest of the royalist barons. No time was lost; on the very next day the battle was fought, and fortune declared against the King. He had the larger force, but all the skill, care, and

Battle of Lewes.

earnestness was on the side of the barons. Simon, who had broken his leg a few months before—an accident which prevented him from going to meet the King of France at Amiens—had been obliged to use a carriage during the late marches; he now posted his carriage in a conspicuous place, and himself went elsewhere. Edward, thinking that if he could capture the Earl, the struggle would be over, attacked the post where the carriage was seen, routed and pursued the defenders, and going too far in pursuit, left his father exposed to the attack of the Earl. King Henry was a brave man, but of course no general, for he had never seen anything like real war before. He defended himself stoutly; two horses were killed under him, and he was wounded and bruised by the swords and maces of his adversaries, who were in close hand-to-hand combat. When he had lost most of his immediate retainers, he retreated into the priory of Lewes. The King of the Romans, who had commanded the centre of the royal army, was already compelled to retreat, and, while Henry was still struggling, had been taken captive in a windmill, which made the adversaries very merry. A general rout followed. The baronial party was victorious long before Edward returned from his unfortunate pursuit, and many of the King's most powerful friends secured themselves by flight. The next day an arbitration was determined on, called the Mise

King Henry's peril.

Victory of the Barons.

of Lewes, and the King gave himself and his son into the hands of Simon, who, from that time to the end of the struggle in the next year, ruled in the King's name.

The Mise of Lewes.

The Mise of Lewes contained seven articles, the most important of which prescribed the employment of native counsellors, and bound the King to act by the advice of the council which would be provided for him. Measures were also taken for obtaining a new arbitration. Thus England for the second time within seven years passed under a new constitution. The system devised at the Council of Oxford in 1258 was not revived, but a parliament was called to devise or ratify a new scheme. This assembly comprised four knights from each shire, as well as the ordinary elements, the bishops and abbots, earls and barons, who formed the usual parliament. In it the new form of government was drawn up. This time the King was bound to act by the advice of nine counsellors. Of the nine three were to be in constant attendance on the King, and his sovereign authority was, in fact, to be exercised by and through them. They were to nominate the great functionaries of the state and the other ministers whose appointment had before rested with the King, and their authority was to last until all the points of controversy were settled by the arbitration provided in the Mise of Lewes.

These men governed England until the bat-

tle of Evesham. But their reign was not an easy or peaceful one. The Pope was still zealous for Henry, and left no means untried by which the bishops might be detached from the barons. The Queen collected a great army in France and prepared to invade England, assisted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, her uncle, and all the English refugees who had come under the rod of Earl Simon. Mortimer also made an attempt to prolong the state of war on the border. Nothing, however, came of these preparations during this year: the new government professed itself to be provisional, and negotiations were resumed, by which the King of France, now better informed, was to settle all controversies. In December a summons went forth for a new parliament.

Troubles of the new government.

This is the famous Parliament, as it is called, of Simon de Montfort, the first assembly of the sort to which representatives of the borough towns were called; and thus to some extent forms a landmark in English history. It was not made a precedent, and in fact it is not till thirty years after that the representatives of the towns begin regularly to sit in parliament; but it is nevertheless a very notable date. Nor was the assembly itself what would be called a full and free parliament, only those persons being summoned who were favorable to the new *régîme;* but five earls and eighteen barons, and an overwhelming number of the

The Parliament of Simon de Montfort.

lower clergy, knights, and burghers, who were of course supporters of Earl Simon. It met on January 20, 1265, and did not effect much. Edward, however, was allowed to make terms for his liberation, and Simon secured for himself and his family the earldom of Chester, giving up to Edward, however, other estates by way of exchange.

Impolicy of Earl Simon's sons.

Already, however, dissensions were springing up. Earl Simon's sons, who did very little credit to his instructions, and on whom perhaps some of the blame may rest of which otherwise it is impossible to acquit their father, managed to offend the Earl of Gloucester. They challenged the Clares to a tournament at Dunstable. When they were ready and already angry and prepared to turn the festive meeting into a battle, it was suddenly stopped by the King or by Earl Simon, acting in his name. Gloucester and his kinsmen deemed themselves insulted, and immediately began to negotiate with the Mortimers; and, when hostilities were just beginning, Edward escaped from his honorable keeping at Hereford and joined the party.

Escape of Edward.

From this point action is rapid. Simon, with the King in his train, marched into the West, and advanced into South Wales. Edward and Gloucester, joined by Mortimer, mustered their adherents in the Cheshire and Shropshire country, and then rushed down by way of Worcester on the town of Gloucester,

which surrendered on June 29, thus cutting off the Earl's return. The younger Simon de Montfort, the Earl's second son, being summoned to his father's aid, came up from Pevensey, which he was besieging, plundered Winchester, and took up his position at Kenilworth. His father meantime had got back to Hereford and formed a plan for surrounding Edward. Edward, however, had now learned vigilance and caution. He took the initiative, succeeded in routing the young Simon and nearly capturing Kenilworth, and thus turned the tables on the Earl. Simon marched on to Evesham, expecting to meet his son; instead of his son he met his nephew; and, on August 4, the battle fought there reversed the judgment of Lewes. There the great Earl fell, and with him Hugh le Despenser, the barons' justiciar, fighting bravely, but without much hope.

Battle of Evesham, and death of Earl Simon.

The interest of the reign, and indeed its importance, ends here. Simon is the hero of the latter part of it, and the death of Simon closes it, although the King reigns for seven years longer. The war does not end here: the remnant of the baronial party held out at Kenilworth until October, 1266. There the last supporters of Earl Simon, the men whose attitude toward Henry was unpardonable, had made their stand. The final agreement which was drawn up at the siege, and which is called the Dictum de Kenilworth, was intended to

Dictum de Kenilworth

settle all differences, and for the most part it did so, by allowing those who had incurred the penalty of forfeiture to redeem their possessions by fines. But until the end of 1267 there were constant outbreaks. The Isle of Ely was made the refuge of one set, just as it had been two hundred years before, in the time of the Conqueror. The Earl of Gloucester raised the banner of revolt, declaring that the King was dealing too hardly with the victims, and the Londoners were very loth indeed to lose the power and advantages which they had secured by their alliance with Simon. But gradually all the storm subsided. In the parliament of Marlborough, in November, 1267, the King renewed the Provisions of Westminster of 1259, by which the most valuable legal reforms of the constitutional party became embodied in statutes. In 1268, the papal legate held a council for the permanent maintenance of peace, and Edward, with many of the leading nobles, took the Cross. In 1270, they went on Crusade, and the Londoners were restored to favor. In December, 1271, the King of the Romans died, broken-hearted at the loss of his son Henry, who was murdered by the Montforts at Viterbo. In 1272, on November 16, Henry III. died; and so completely was the kingdom then at peace, that Edward, although far away from England, was at once proclaimed King, and oaths of fealty were taken to him in his absence.

Edward takes the Cross.

Death of Henry III.

[Kublai Khan (1259-1294) builds and makes Pekin his capital; subdues Southern China in 1279; becomes Great Khan of China, and adopts Chinese manners and customs. The Mamelukes make head against the Mongols; occupy Damascus and Aleppo (1260), attack the Christians and take Antioch (1268). St. Louis heads the Eighth (and last) Crusade (1270); he dies of plague before Tunis. Edward I. proceeds to Palestine; raises the siege of Acre, advances to Nazareth and exacts a ten years' truce. The Mamelukes capture Acre in 1291, and end the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.]

THE SICILIAN VESPERS

(A.D. 1282)

JULES MICHELET

ALL powerful as he was, the son of St. Louis was not the true head of the house of France; its head was the sainted King's brother, Charles of Anjou. Charles had used and abused his unexampled good fortune. Youngest son of the house of France, he had become Count of Provence, King of Naples, of Sicily, and of Jerusalem, and more than king—master and ruler of popes. To him might have been applied what was said to the famous Ugolin: "What is there wanting to me?" asked the tyrant of Pisa. "Nothing but the anger of God!"

Power of Charles of Anjou.

For three years nearly, he reigned almost Pope in Italy, as he would not allow of the nomination of a Pope on the demise of Clement IV. This pontiff had found that for twenty thousand pieces of gold which the Frenchman promised to pay him yearly, he had delivered into his hands not only the Two Siciliés, but all Italy. Charles got himself named by him Senator of Rome and Imperial

Vicar in Tuscany. He was accepted as suzerain by Piacenza, Cremona, Parma, Modena, Ferrara, Reggio, and, subsequently, even by Milan, as well as by many cities of Piedmont and of Romagna. All Tuscany had chosen him peace-maker. "Kill every man of them," was the reply of this peace-maker to the Guelphs of Florence, when they asked him what they should do with their Ghibelline prisoners.

His importance in Italy.

Conspiracy abroad, conspiracy at home: the Italians reckon themselves masters of the art. They have always conspired, but rarely succeeded; yet enterprises of the kind have had to this artistic people the captivation of a work of art, of a drama unalloyed by fiction, of a real tragedy in which they desiderated all the effects of the drama, requiring numerous spectators and some solemn occasion, as that of a great festival, for instance; their theatre would often be a temple; the hour, that of the elevation of the host.*

Italians adepts in conspiracy.

The conspiracy of which we are about to speak was of a far different character from those of the Pazzi or of the Olgiati. The work in hand was not a dagger's blow—the killing a man at the sacrifice of your own life, and which after all leads to nothing—but the rousing of Sicily and of the world; con-

* The moment chosen by the Pazzi for the assassination of the Medicis and by the Olgiati to put to death John Galeas Sforza.

spiring, negotiating, encouraging conspiracy by insurrection, and insurrection by conspiracy; the raising up of a whole people, and yet holding them in; the organizing of war, yet simulating peace. This design, so difficult of accomplishment, was of all others the most just,—for it was undertaken to expel the foreigner.

Conspiracy in Sicily.

The strong head which conceived this great thing, and which accomplished it—a head coldly ardent, hardly obstinate and astute, such as are found in the South—was Calabrian. He was a physician, one of the barons of the court of Frederick II., lord of the island of Prochyta; and, as their physician, he had been the friend and confidant both of Frederick and of Manfred. To please these freethinkers of the Thirteenth Century, it behooved to be a physician, either Arab or Jew; and admission was gained into their houses rather through the channel of the school of Salerno than of the Church. Probably this school taught its adepts something more than the innocent prescriptions which it has left us in its Leonine verses.

John of Procida.

After the downfall of Manfred, Procida took refuge in Spain.

Procida goes to Spain.

It was to the young King, Don Pedro, that the faithful servant of the house of Swabia first betook himself; to the daughter of his master, the Queen Constanza. The Aragonese received him kindly, gave him lands and

lordships, but listened coldly to his suggestions of war with the house of France; the forces were too disproportionate. The hatred of Christendom against this house had first to be aggravated; and he preferred refusing, and waiting. So he allowed the adventurer to pursue his plans, without compromising himself. To take all suspicion from him, Procida sold his Spanish estates and disappeared. None knew what had become of him.

Procida seeks the enemies of Charles of Anjou.

He left secretly, attired as a Franciscan: so humble a disguise was also the safest. The Mendicants strayed everywhere; begged, lived on little, and were everywhere well received. Subtle, eloquent and able men, they discharged a multiplicity of worldly commissions with discretion. Europe was filled with their activity. Messengers, preachers, and at times diplomatists, they were then what the post and press now are. Procida, then, assumed the dirty gown of the Mendicants, and went humbly and barefoot to seek throughout the world enemies to Charles of Anjou.

He visits Sicily and Constantinople.

Enemies were not wanting. The difficulty was to bring them to an understanding, to bring them to act simultaneously and contemporaneously. At first he repairs to Sicily, to the very volcano of the revolution; sees, listens, and observes. The signs of approaching eruption were visible—concentrated rage, a stifled sound of effervescence, murmurs and

silence. Charles was exhausting his unhappy people in order to subject another; and the isle was full of preparations and menaces against the Greeks. Procida passes on to Constantinople, warns Paleologus, and gives him exact information of his enemy's movements. Charles had already despatched three thousand men to Durazzo, and was about to follow with a hundred galleys and five hundred transports. His success was assured; for Venice did not hesitate to embark in the enterprise, and contributed forty galleys and her Doge, who was still a Dandolo. The Fourth Crusade was about to be repeated; and Paleologus, in despair, knew not what to do. "What to do? Give me money. I will find you a defender, who has no money, but who has arms."

Procida has a secret interview with the Pope.

Procida returned to Sicily with one of Paleologus's secretaries, introduced him to the Sicilian barons, and then to the Pope, with whom he had a secret interview in the castle of Soriano. The Greek Emperor desired, above all, the signature of the Pope, to whom he had been but recently reconciled; but Nicholas hesitated to embark in so vast an undertaking. Procida gave him money. According to other accounts, he had only to remind the pontiff, who was a Roman and an Orsini, of a saying of Charles of Anjou's. When a Pope proposed a marriage between his niece Orsini and Charles of Anjou's son,

Charles had said: "Does he fancy because he wears red stockings that the blood of his Orsini can mingle with the blood of France?"

Nicholas signed the treaty, but died shortly after. The whole work seemed broken up and destroyed. Charles became more powerful than ever. He succeeded in having a Pope of his own. He drove from the conclave the Ghibelline cardinals, and compelled the nomination of a Frenchman, an old monk of Tours, a servile and trembling creature of his house. This was to make himself Pope. He became once more Senator of Rome, and placed garrisons in all the holds of the Church. This time the Pope could not escape him. He kept him with him at Viterbo, and would not let him out of his sight. When the unhappy Sicilians came to implore the Pope's mediation with their King, they saw their enemy by their judge, the King sitting by the side of the Pope. The only answer the deputies received was to be thrown into a dungeon—yet were they a bishop and a monk.

Charles's power increases.

Charles's friendship with the Pope.

Sicily had no pity to expect from Charles of Anjou. Half Arab, it held out obstinately for the friends of the Arabs, for Manfred and his house. All the insults with which the conquerors could load the Sicilian people seemed to them but so many reprisals. The petulance of the Provençals, and their brutal joviality, are well known; but had national antipathies and the insolence of conquest been

the only subjects of complaint, there might have been hopes of the evils mitigating. What, however, threatened to increase and to weigh each day more heavily, was a first and unskilful attempt at taxation—the invasion of treasury agents and of finance in the world of the Odyssey and the Eneid. This nation of husbandmen and of shepherds had, under every change of master, preserved something of its ancient independence. Till now, they had found solitude in the mountain and liberty in the desert. But now, the tax-gatherer explored the whole island. Inquisitive traveller! he measures the valley, scales the rock, values the inaccessible peak. He rears his office under the mountain chestnut, or hunts out and registers the goat wandering on the ledges of the rocks, in the midst of lava and of snow.

Tyranny of taxation.

It was Monday, the 30th of March, 1282, Easter Monday. In Sicily, it is already summer—just as it would be with us on St. John's Day, when the heat has begun to be intense, and the ground, moist and warm, is lost beneath the grass, and the grass beneath the flowers. Easter is a voluptuous moment in these countries. With the closing of Lent, abstinence disappears, and sensuality awakens, fierce and ardent, and sharpened by devotion —God has had his share, the senses claim theirs. The change is a sudden one: every flower starts at once from the ground, every

Spring in Sicily.

beauty is in fulness of bloom. It is a triumphant outburst of life, sensuality's revenge, an insurrection of nature.

This day, then, this Easter Monday, all, both men and women, went up the beautiful hill, according to custom, from Palermo to Monreale, to hear vespers. The foreigners were there to trouble the festival: so great an assemblage of people was not without giving them uneasiness. The viceroy had forbidden the wearing of arms, or exercising with them, as was the custom on that day. Perhaps he had noticed the concourse of nobles, for Procida had had the address to assemble them at Palermo. The opportunity, however, was wanting; and it was presented by a Frenchman beyond Procida's hopes. This man, named Drouet, stopped a beautiful girl, of noble birth, whom her bridegroom and the whole family were conducting to the church. Having searched the bridegroom and found no arms, he pretended to think the maiden had them about her, and passed his hand under her gown. She faints. The Frenchman is at once disarmed, and slain with his own sword. A cry is raised, "Death, death to the French!" In all directions they are cut down. Their houses, it is said, had been marked with a distinguishing mark beforehand. Whoever could not pronounce the Italian *c* or *ch* (*ceci, ciceri*) was immediately put to death.

Uneasiness of the oppressors.

[In 1284, Genoa extinguishes the sea-power of Pisa at Maloria. In 1292, the Mongols drive the last Sultan of Iconium from his throne. He dies at Constantinople in 1308. In 1283, Edward subdues Wales; and from 1297 to 1303 Wallace unsuccessfully struggles for the freedom of Scotland. In 1299, Othman presses through the passes of Olympus, invades Nicomedia, and founds the Ottoman Empire.] A.D. 1284-1299.

MARCO POLO'S TRAVELS

(A.D. 1291)

HENRY YULE

Claims to nobility.

TILL quite recently it had never been precisely ascertained whether the immediate family of our Traveller belonged to the *Nobles* of Venice, properly so-called, who had seats in the Grand Council, and were enrolled in the Libro d'Oro. Ramusio,* indeed, styles our Marco *Nobile* and *Magnifico,* and Rusticiano, the actual scribe of the Traveller's recollections, calls him *"sajes et noble citaiens de Venece,"* but Ramusio's accuracy and Rusticiano's precision are scarcely to be depended on. Very recently, however, since the subject has been discussed with accomplished students of the Venice archives, proofs have been found establishing Marco's personal claim to nobility, inasmuch as both in judicial decisions and in official resolutions of the Great Council, he is designated *Nobilis Vir,* a formula which would never have been used in such documents (I am assured) had he not been technically noble.

Of the three sons of Andrea Polo of S.

* Marco Polo's earliest biographer.

Felice, Marco seems to have been the eldest, and Maffeo the youngest. They were all engaged in commerce, and apparently in a partnership, which to some extent held good even when the two younger had been many years absent in the Far East. Marco seems to have been established for a time at Constantinople, and also to have had a house (no doubt of business) at Soldaia in the Crimea, where his son and daughter, Nicolo and Maroca by name, were living in 1280.

Marco the Elder.

Nicolo Polo, the second of the brothers, had two legitimate sons, Marco, born in 1254, and Maffeo. The story opens in 1260, when we find the two brothers, Nicolo and Maffeo the Elder, at Constantinople. How long they had been absent from Venice we are not distinctly told. Nicolo had left his wife there behind him; Maffeo apparently was a bachelor. In the year named they started on a trading venture to the Crimea, whence a succession of openings and chances, recounted in the introductory chapters of Marco's work, carried them far north along the Volga, and thence first to Bokhara and then to the Court of the Great Khan Kublai in the Far East, on or within the borders of Cathay. That a great and civilized country, so called, existed in the extremity of Asia had already been reported in Europe by the Friars Plano Carpini (1246) and William de Rubruquis (1253), who had not indeed

Nicolo and Maffeo commence their travels

reached its frontiers, but had met with its people at the Court of the Great Khan in Mongolia; while the latter of the two, with characteristic acumen, had seen that they were identical with the Seres of classic fame.

Kublai had never before fallen in with European gentlemen. He was delighted with these Venetians, listened with strong interest to all that they had to tell him of the Latin World, and determined to send them back as his ambassadors to the Pope, accompanied by an officer of his own court. His letters to the Pope, as the Polos represent them, were mainly to desire the despatch of a large body of educated missionaries to convert his people to Christianity. It is not likely that religious motives influenced Kublai in this, but he probably desired religious aid in softening and civilizing his rude kinsmen of the Steppes, and judged, from what he saw in the Venetians and heard from them, that Europe could afford such aid of a higher quality than the degenerate Oriental Christians with whom he was familiar, or the Tibetan Lamas on whom his patronage eventually devolved when Rome so deplorably failed to meet his advances.

Their intercourse with Kublai Khan.

The brothers arrived at Acre in April, 1269, and found that no Pope existed, for Clement IV. was dead the year before, and no new election had taken place. So they went home to Venice to see how things stood there after their absence of so many years. The wife of Ni-

The Polos return home.

colo was no longer among the living, but he found his son Marco a fine lad of fifteen.

The Papal interregnum was the longest known, at least since the Dark Ages. Those two years passed, and yet the cardinals at Viterbo had come to no agreement. The brothers were unwilling to let the Great Khan think them faithless, and perhaps they hankered after the virgin field of speculation that they had discovered; so they started again for the East, taking young Mark with them. If there be no mistake in the time (three years and a half), ascribed to this journey in all the existing texts, the travellers did not reach the court till about May of 1275.

Second journey of the Polos.

Kublai received the Venetians with great cordiality, and took kindly to young Mark, who must have been by this time one and twenty. The *Joenne Bacheler,* as the story calls him, applied himself to the acquisition of the languages and written characters in chief use among the multifarious nationalities included in the Khan's court and administration; and Kublai after a time, seeing his discretion and ability, began to employ him in the public service. M. Pauthier has found a record in the Chinese Annals of the Mongol Dynasty, which states that, in the year 1277, a certain Polo was nominated a second-class commissioner or agent attached to the Privy Council, a passage which we are happy to believe refers to our young traveller.

Marco's employment by Kublai Khan.

His first mission apparently was that which carried him through the provinces of Shansi, Shensi, and Szechwan, and the wild country on the east of Tibet, to the remote province of Yunnan, called by the Mongols Karájáng, and which had been partially conquered by an army under Kublai himself in 1253 before his accession to the throne. Mark, during his stay at court, had observed the Khan's delight in hearing of strange countries, their marvels, manners, and oddities, and had heard his Majesty's frank expressions of disgust at the stupidity of his commissioners when they could speak of nothing but the official business on which they had been sent. Profiting by these observations, he took care to store his memory or his note-books with all curious facts that were likely to interest Kublai, and related them with vivacity on his return to court. This first journey,—which led him through a region which is still very nearly a *terra incognita,* and in which there existed, and still exists, among the deep valleys of the Great Rivers flowing down from Eastern Tibet, and in the rugged mountain ranges bordering Yunnan and Kweichau, a vast Ethnological Garden, as it were, of tribes of various race and in every stage of uncivilization,—afforded him an acquaintance with many strange products and eccentric traits of manners wherewith to delight the Emperor. Mark rose rapidly in favor and often served Kublai again on dis-

He takes notes of all he sees.

He rises rapidly in favor.

tant missions, as well as in domestic administration.

That Marco Polo has been so universally recognized as the King of Medieval Travellers is due rather to the width of his experience, the vast compass of his journeys, and the romantic nature of his personal history, than to transcendent superiority of character or capacity.

The generation immediately preceding his own has bequeathed to us, in the Report of the Franciscan Friar, William de Rubruquis, on the mission with which St. Louis charged him to the Tartar courts, the narrative of one great journey, which, in its rich detail, its vivid pictures, its acuteness of observation and strong good sense, seems to me to form a Book of Travels of much higher claims than *any one series* of Polo's chapters; a book, indeed, which has never had justice done to it, for it has few superiors in the whole Library of Travel.

Enthusiastic biographers, beginning with Ramusio, have placed Polo on the same platform with Columbus. But where has our Venetian Traveller left behind him any trace of the genius and lofty enthusiasm, the ardent and justified previsions which mark the great Admiral as one of the lights of the human race? It is a juster praise that the spur which his Book eventually gave to geographical studies, and the beacons which it hung out at

The real merit of the work.

the Eastern extremities of the earth, helped to guide the aims, though scarcely to kindle the fire, of the greater son of the rival Republic. His work was at least a link in the Providential chain which at last dragged the New World to light.*

The Asiatic realms he described.

Surely Marco's real, indisputable, and, in their kind, unique claims to glory may suffice. He was the first traveller to trace a route across the whole longitude of Asia, naming and describing kingdom after kingdom which he had seen with his own eyes; the Deserts of Persia, the flowering plateaus and wild gorges of Badakhstan, the jade-bearing rivers of Khotan, the Mongolian steppes, cradle of the power that had so lately threatened to swallow up Christendom, the new and brilliant court that had been established at Cambaluc; the first traveller to reveal China in all its wealth and vastness, its mighty rivers, its huge cities, its rich manufactures, its swarming population, the inconceivably vast fleets that quickened its seas and its inland waters; to tell us of the nations on its borders with all their eccentricities of manner and worship; of Tibet with its sor-

* M. Libri, however, speaks too strongly when he says: "The finest of all the results due to the influence of Marco Polo is that of having stirred Columbus to the discovery of the New World. Columbus, jealous of Polo's laurels, spent his life in preparing means to get to that Zipangu of which the Venetian traveller had told such great things; his desire was to reach China by sailing westward, and in his way he fell in with America." (*H. des Sciences Mathém.*, II. 150.)

did devotees; of Burma with its golden pagodas and their tinkling crowns; of Laos, of Siam, of Cochin China, of Japan, the Eastern Thule, with its rosy pearls and golden-roofed palaces; the first to speak of that Museum of Beauty and Wonder, still so imperfectly ransacked, the Indian Archipelago, source of those aromatics then so highly prized, and whose origin was so dark; of Java, the Pearl of Islands; of Sumatra with its many kings, its strange, costly products, and its cannibal races; of the naked savages of Nicobar and Andaman; of Ceylon, the Isle of Gems, with its Sacred Mountain and its Tomb of Adam; of India the Great, not as a dreamland of Alexandrian fables, but as a country seen and partially explored, with its virtuous Brahmans, its obscene ascetics, its diamonds and the strange tales of their acquisition, its sea-beds of pearl, and its powerful sun; the first in medieval times to give any distinct account of the secluded Christian Empire of Abyssinia, and the semi-Christian Island of Socotra; to speak, though indeed dimly, of Zanzibar with its negroes and its ivory, and of the vast and distinct Madagascar, bordering on the Dark Ocean of the South, with its Ruc and other monstrosities; and, in a remotely opposite region, of Siberia and the Arctic Ocean, of dog-sledges, white bears, and reindeer-riding Tunguses.

Africa also is touched upon.

That all this rich catalogue of discoveries

Ample ground for Polo's fame.

should belong to the revelations of one Man and one Book is surely ample ground enough to account for and to justify the Author's high place on the roll of Fame, and there can be no need to exaggerate his greatness, or to invest him with imaginary attributes.

[The first convocation of the States-General of France met in 1303. The seat of the Papacy is transferred to Avignon, 1305; the Great Papal Schism lasted till 1376. In 1310, Venice sees the conspiracy of Tiepolo and the Creation of the Council of Ten.]

THE SWISS CONFEDERACY: THE SWISS WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

(A.D. 1307)

SUTHERLAND MENZIES

SWITZERLAND originally formed a part of the kingdom of Arles or Burgundy, and was united, later on, to the rest of the dominions of Rodolph. It contained a numerous and powerful nobility, and several rich ecclesiastical lords. Its towns of Zurich, Bâsle, Berne, and Friburg rose into importance. Among the nobles the Counts of Hapsburg gradually became the most powerful; they were advocates to several convents, some of which had estates in the forest-cantons of Schwyz and Unterwalden. The people of these cantons reposed confidence in Rodolph, the first Emperor of the House of Hapsburg; but they distrusted his son, the cold and heartless Albert, who justified their suspicions; for, not satisfied with the rights which, as advocate of the convents, he possessed over a part of the forest-cantons, he, wishing to annex them to the dukedom of Austria, sent imperial bailiffs to administer justice in the whole of

The Counts of Hapsburg.

these cantons. The people were indignant at this attempt to reduce them to servitude. Three men, Stauffacher of Schwyz, Furst of Uri, Melchthal of Unterwalden, each with ten companions, met by night in a secret valley, and swore to assert the liberty of their country. It was, therefore, the encroachments of *ducal,* not imperial, tyranny that drove these brave mountaineers to vindicate their independence with the sword. The encroachment which the confederates of Gruttli pledged themselves to withstand was the attempt to degrade their land from being a free fief of the empire into becoming a part of the hereditary possessions of the House of Austria.

William Tell.

William Tell, a brave and honest peasant, was the popular hero of this band of liberators, who, driven at length into open rebellion by a series of insults offered to them by Gessler, the Austrian bailiff of Uri, made a successful stand against the tyrannical Duke Albert. Several circumstances of his life, even his existence, have been doubted; but it seems clearly proved that he really shared in the struggles and deliverance of his country. Born at Burghen, in the canton of Uri, he married the daughter of Walter Furst of Altinghausen, who had taken the oath (7th Sept. 1307) at the Gruttli with Arnold de Melchthal and Werner de Stauffacher. Gessler had caused to be fixed upon a pole in the market-place of Altorf a hat (the ducal hat according

Gessler's tyranny.

to John de Muller), commanding the Swiss to bow their heads while passing it. Tell indignantly refused to obey that humiliating order. The tyrant, furious at the audacity of the recusant, compelled him, under pain of death, to shoot an arrow, at a distance of one hundred and twenty paces, through an apple placed upon the head of the youngest of his boys (18th Nov. 1307). Tell shot so true that he pierced the apple without harming his son. Gessler then perceiving a second arrow hidden beneath his belt, asked him what it was for. Tell would have excused himself by saying that it was the common custom of archers; but Gessler, seeing him confused, pressed him to disclose the real reason, promising that, whatever he might say, his life should be safe. "Well, then," replied William Tell, "I will speak the truth. If I had slain my son, the second arrow should have pierced thy heart." "I promised thee thy life," replied Gessler; "but since thou art thus evil disposed toward me, I will send thee to a place where thou shalt never see sun or moon more." Gessler then caused him to be loaded with chains, and thrown into a boat; and, fearing lest he should be rescued by his companions, he determined to conduct him himself to the strong fortress of Kussnacht. They embarked upon the lake of the Four Cantons; and scarcely were they in front of the Gruttli than the *jocher,* an impetuous wind from the south

Tell's bold defiance.

which often blows in these regions, raised a violent storm, which rendered the small skiff unmanageable. Tell was known to be a skilful boatman, and he averred that he could steer the skiff to a point where they could land safely. Gessler, terrified, consented to his chains being taken off, and trusted him with the helm. Tell directed the boat shoreward toward a rocky platform which still bears the name of Tell's Leap, situated on the Schwyz shore. There, snatching his bow, he sprang ashore from the skiff, thrusting it back with his foot, thereby leaving his enemy exposed to the fury of the waves. Gessler, however, escaped also, and continued his way by land toward Kussnacht. Tell waited for him by the roadside, until he had entered a hollow, woody pass, and, watching his opportunity, took a steady aim at the tyrant, and sent an arrow through his heart. After this exploit, Tell's life becomes obscure. We learn only that he fought in the battle of Morgarten (1315), and that he died at Bingen, receiver of the church of that city, in 1354. His death was another devoted act, for he perished in an attempt to save a child who had fallen into a torrent. The Governor of Uri decreed that, on the anniversary of his death, a sermon should be delivered at the spot where stood the house of Tell, "our beloved citizen, and restorer of our liberties, in eternal memory of Heaven's benefits, and the happy deeds of the

His escape and revenge.

His death.

hero." Thirty years later a chapel was built upon the site on which that house had stood.

[The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem are established at Rhodes (1310), which emerges into fame and opulence.] Knights of St. John.

SUPPRESSION OF THE TEMPLARS

(A.D. 1307—1313)

DAVID HUME

THE Order of Knights Templars had arisen during the first fervor of the Crusades; and uniting the two qualities, the most popular in that age, devotion and valor, and exercising both in the most popular of all enterprises, the defence of the Holy Land, they had made rapid advances in credit and authority, and had acquired, from the piety of the faithful, ample possessions in every country of Europe, especially in France. Their great riches, joined to the course of time, had, by degrees, relaxed the severity of these virtues; and the Templars had in a great measure lost that popularity which first raised them to honor and distinction. Acquainted from experience with the fatigues and dangers of those fruitless expeditions to the East, they rather chose to enjoy in ease their opulent revenues in Europe: and being all men of birth, educated, according to the custom of that age, without any tincture of letters, they scorned the ignoble occupations of a monastic life, and passed their time wholly in the fashionable

Their early piety.

amusements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleasures of the table. Their rival order, that of St. John of Jerusalem, whose poverty had as yet preserved them from like corruptions, still distinguished themselves by their enterprises against the infidels, and succeeded to all the popularity, which was lost by the indolence and luxury of the Templars. But though these reasons had weakened the foundations of this Order, once so celebrated and revered, the immediate cause of their destruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair, who, having entertained a private disgust against some eminent Templars, determined to gratify at once his avidity and revenge, by involving the whole Order in an undistinguished ruin. On no better information than that of two knights, condemned by their superiors to perpetual imprisonment for their vices and profligacy, he ordered on one day all the Templars in France to be committed to prison, and imputed to them such enormous and absurd crimes as are sufficient of themselves to destroy all the credit of the acquisition. Besides their being universally charged with murder, robbery, and vices the most shocking to nature; every one, it was pretended, whom they received into their order, was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to spit upon the cross, and to join to this impiety the superstition of worshipping a gilded head, which was secretly kept in one of their houses

Luxury of the Order.

Crimes charged against them.

at Marseilles. They also initiated, it was said, every candidate by such infamous rites, as could serve to no other purpose than to degrade the Order in his eyes, and destroy forever the authority of all his superiors over him. Above a hundred of these unhappy gentlemen were put to the question, in order to extort from them a confession of their guilt; the more obstinate perished in the hands of their tormentors: several, to procure immediate ease in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was required of them: forged confessions were imputed to others: and Philip, as if their guilt were now certain, proceeded to a confiscation of all their treasures. But no sooner were the Templars relieved from their tortures, than, preferring the most cruel execution to a life with infamy, they disavowed their confessions, exclaimed against the forgeries, justified the innocence of their Order, and appealed to all the gallant actions performed by them in ancient or later times, as a full apology for their conduct. The tyrant, enraged at this disappointment, and thinking himself now engaged in honor to proceed to extremities, ordered fifty-four of them, whom he branded as relapsed heretics, to perish by the punishment of fire in his capital: great numbers expired after a like manner in other parts of the kingdom: and when he found that the perseverance of these unhappy victims, in justifying to the last their

Crimes confessed under torture.

Fifty-four are burned.

innocence, had made deep impression on the spectators, he endeavored to overcome the constancy of the Templars by new inhumanities. The grand master of the Order, John de Molay, and another great officer, brother to the sovereign of Dauphiny, were conducted to a scaffold, erected before the church of Notre Dame, at Paris: a full pardon was offered them on the one hand; the fire, destined for their execution, was shown them on the other: these gallant nobles still persisted in the protestations of their own innocence and that of their Order; and were instantly hurried into the flames by the executioner.

Execution of the grand master.

In all this barbarous injustice Clement V., who was the creature of Philip, and then resided in France, fully concurred; and without examining a witness, or making any inquiry into the truth of facts, he summarily, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, abolished the whole Order. The Templars all over Europe were thrown into prison; their conduct underwent a strict scrutiny; the power of their enemies still pursued and oppressed them; but nowhere, except in France, were the smallest traces of their guilt pretended to be found. England sent an ample testimony of their piety and morals; but as the Order was now annihilated, the knights were distributed into several convents, and their possessions were, by command of the Pope, transferred to the Order of St. John.

Connivance of Clement V.

BANNOCKBURN

(A.D. 1314)

ANDREW LANG

BANNOCKBURN, like the Relief of Orleans, or Marathon, was one of the decisive battles of the world. History hinged upon it. If England won, Scotland might have dwindled into the condition of Ireland,—for Edward II. was not likely to aim at a statesmanlike policy of union, in his father's manner. Could Scotland have accepted union at the first Edward's hands; could he have refrained from his mistreatment (as we must think it) of Balliol, the fortunes of the isle of Britain might have been happier. But had Scotland been trodden down at Bannockburn, the fortunes of the isle might well have been worse.

Importance of the victory.

The singular and certain fact is, that Bannockburn was fought on a point of chivalry, on a rule in a game. England must "touch bar," relieve Stirling, as in some child's pastime. To the securing of the castle, the central gate of Scotland, north and south, England put forth her whole strength. Bruce had no choice but to concentrate all the power

Stirling the central gate of Scotland.

of a now, at last, united realm, and to stand just where he did stand. His enemies knew his purpose: by May 27, writs informed England that the Scots were gathering on heights and morasses inaccessible to cavalry. If ever Edward showed energy, it was in preparing for the appointed Midsummer Day of 1314. The "Rotuli Scotiæ" contain several pages of his demands for men, horses, wines, hay, grain, provisions, and ships. Endless letters were sent to master mariners and magistrates of towns. The King appealed to his beloved Irish chiefs, O'Donnells, O'Flyns, O'Hanlens, MacMahons, M'Carthys, Kellys, O'Reillys, and O'Briens, and to *Hiberniae Magnates, Anglico genere ortos,* Butlers, Blounts, De Lacys, Powers, and Russells. John of Argyll was made admiral of the western fleet, and was asked to conciliate the Islesmen, who, under Angus Og, were rallying to Bruce. The numbers of men engaged on either side in this war can not be ascertained. Each kingdom had a year wherein to muster and arm.

Mustering for the struggle.

> "Then all that worthy were to fight
> Of Scotland, set all hale their might;"

while Barbour makes Edward assemble, not only

> "His own chivalry
> That was so great it was ferly,"

but also knights of France and Hainault, Bretagne and Gascony, Wales, Ireland, and

The English army.

Aquitaine. The whole English force is said to have exceeded 100,000, 40,000 of whom were cavalry, including 3,000 horses "barded from counter to tail," armed against stroke of sword or point of spear. The baggage-train was endless, bearing tents, harness, and "apparel of chamber and hall," wine, wax, and all the luxuries of Edward's manner of campaigning, including *animalia*, perhaps lions. Thus the English advanced from Berwick—

> "Banners right fairly flaming
> And pensels to the wind waving."

Bruce summons Scotland.

On June 23, Bruce heard that the English host had streamed out of Edinburgh, where the dismantled castle was no safe hold, and were advancing on Falkirk. Bruce had summoned Scotland to tryst in the Torwood, whence he could retreat at pleasure, if, after all, retreat he must. The Fiery Cross, red with the blood of a sacrificed goat, must have flown through the whole of the Celtic land. Lanarkshire, Douglasdale, and Ettrick Forest were mustered under the banner of Douglas, the mullets not yet enriched with the royal heart. The men of Moray followed their new earl, Randolph, the adventurous knight who scaled the rock of the Castle of the Maidens. Renfrewshire, Bute, and Ayr were under the fesse chequy of young Walter Stewart. Bruce had gathered his own Car-

rick men, and Angus Og led the wild levies of the Isles. Of stout spearmen, and fleet-footed clansmen, Bruce had abundance; but what were his archers to the archers of England, or his five hundred horse under Keith, the Marischal, to the rival knights of England, Hainault, Guienne, and Almayne?

Ability of the Scottish leaders.

Battles, however, are won by heads, as well as by hearts and hands. The victor of Glen Trool and Cruachan and Loudon Hill knew every move in the game, while Randolph and Douglas were experts in making one man do the work of five. Bruce, too, had choice of ground, and the ground suited him well.

To reach Stirling the English must advance by their left, along the so-called Roman way, through the village of St. Ninian's, or by the right, through the Carse, partly inclosed, and much broken, in drainless days, by reedy lochans. Bruce did not make his final dispositions till he learned that the English meant to march by the former route. He then chose ground where his front was defended, first by the little burn of Bannock, which at one point winds through a cleugh with steep banks, and next by two morasses, Halbert's bog and Milton bog. What is now arable ground may have been a loch in old days, and these two marshes were then impassable by a column of attack. Between Charter's Hall (where Edward had his headquarters) and Park's Mill was a marge of firm soil, along

which a column could pass, in scrubby country, and between the bogs was a sort of bridge of dry land. By these two avenues the English might assail the Scottish lines. These approaches Bruce is said to have rendered difficult by pitfalls, and even by calthrops to maim the horses. It is whispered that calthrops for tourists are occasionally manufactured by modern local enterprise. He determined to fight on foot, the wooded country being difficult for horsemen, and the foe being infinitely superior in cavalry. His army was arranged in four "battles," with Randolph to lead the vaward, and watch against any attempt to throw cavalry into Stirling. Edward Bruce commanded the division on the right, next the Torwood. Walter Stewart, a lad, with Douglas, led the third division. Bruce himself and Angus Og, with the men of Carrick and the Celts, were in the rear. Bruce had no mind to take the offensive, and, as at the Battle of the Standard, to open the fight with a charge of impetuous mountaineers. On Sunday morning mass was said, and men shrived them.

Bruce's preparations.

Bruce does not wish to attack.

> "They thought to die in the *melée*,
> Or else to set their country free."

They ate but bread and water, for it was the vigil of St. John. News came that the English had moved out of Falkirk, and Douglas and the Steward brought tidings of the great

and splendid host that was rolling north. Bruce bade them make little of it in the hearing of the army. Meanwhile Philip de Mowbray, who commanded in Stirling, had ridden forth to meet and counsel Edward. His advice was to come no nearer: perhaps a technical relief was held to have already been secured by the presence of the army. Mowbray was not heard—"the young men" would not listen. Gloucester, with the van, entered the park, where he was met, as we shall see, and Clifford, Beaumont, and Sir Thomas Grey, with three hundred horsemen, skirted the wood where Randolph was posted, a clear way lying before them to the castle of Stirling.

Philip de Mowbray's warning.

Bruce had seen this movement, and told Randolph that "a rose of his chaplet was fallen," the phrase attesting the King's love of chivalrous romance. To pursue horsemen with infantry seemed vain enough; but Randolph moved out of cover, thinking perhaps that knights so adventurous would refuse no chance to fight. If this was his thought, he reckoned well. Beaumont cried to his knights, "Give ground, leave them fair field." Grey hinted that the Scots were in too great force, and Beaumont answered, "If you fear, fly!" "Sir," said Sir Thomas, "for fear I fly not this day!" and so spurred in between Beaumont and D'Eyncourt and galloped on the spears. D'Eyncourt was slain,

Infantry challenge cavalry.

Grey was unhorsed and taken. The hundred lances of Beaumont then circled Randolph's spearmen round about on every side, but the spears kept back the horses. Swords, maces, and knives were thrown; all was done as by the French cavalry against our squares at Waterloo, and all as vainly. The hedge of steel was unbroken, and, in the hot sun of June, a mist of dust and heat brooded over the battle.

The spears win.

"Sic mirkness
In the air above them was,"

as when the sons of Thetis and the Dawn fought under the walls of windy Troy. Douglas beheld the distant cloud, and rode to Bruce, imploring leave to hurry to Randolph's aid. "I will not break my ranks for him," said Bruce; yet Douglas had his will. But the English wavered, seeing his line advance, and thereon Douglas halted his men, lest Randolph should lose renown. Beholding this, the spearmen of Randolph, in their turn, charged and drove the weary English horse and their disheartened riders. Meanwhile Edward had halted his main force to consider whether they should fight or rest. But Gloucester's party, knowing nothing of his halt, had advanced into the wooded park; and Bruce rode down to the right in armor, and with a gold coronal on his basnet, but mounted on a mere palfrey. To the front of the English van, under Gloucester and Here-

The English fall back.

ford, rode Sir Henry Bohun, a bow-shot beyond his company. Recognizing the King, who was arraying his ranks, Bohun sped down upon him, apparently hoping to take him—

> "He thought that he should well lightly
> Win him, and have him at his will."

But Bruce, in this fatal moment, when history hung on his hand and eye, uprose in his stirrups and clove Bohun's helmet, the axe breaking in that stroke. It was a desperate but a winning blow: Bruce's spears advanced, and the English van withdrew in half superstitious fear of the omen. His lords blamed Bruce, but

Bruce kills Sir Henry Bohun.

> *"The King has answer made them none,*
> But turned about the axe-shaft, wha
> Was with the stroke broken in twa."

Initium malorum hoc ("this was the beginning of evil"), says the English chronicler.

After this double success in the Quatre Bras of the Scottish Waterloo, Bruce, according to Barbour, offered to his men their choice of withdrawal or of standing it out. The great general might well be of doubtful mind—was to-morrow to bring a second and more fatal Falkirk? The army of Scotland was protected, as Wallace's army at Falkirk had been, by difficult ground. But the English archers might again rain their blinding showers of shafts into the broad mark offered

Bruce's hesitation.

by the clumps of spears, and again the English knights might break through the shaken ranks. Bruce had but a few squadrons of horse—could they be trusted to scatter the bowmen of the English forests, and to escape a flank charge from the far heavier cavalry of Edward? On the whole, was not the old strategy best, the strategy of retreat? So Bruce may have pondered. He had brought his men to the ring, and they voted for dancing. Meanwhile the English rested on a marshy plain "outre Bannockburn" in sore discomfiture, says Grey. He must mean *south* of Bannockburn, taking the point of view of his father, at that hour a captive in Bruce's camp. He tells us that the Scots meant to retire "into the Lennox, a right strong country" (this confirms, in a way, Barbour's tale of Bruce suggesting retreat), when Sir Alexander Seton, deserting Edward's camp, advised Bruce of the English lack of spirit, and bade him face the foe next day. To retire, indeed, was Bruce's, as it had been Wallace's, natural policy. The English would soon be distressed for want of supplies; on the other hand, they had clearly made no arrangements for an orderly retreat, if they lost the day: with Bruce this was a motive for fighting them. The advice of Seton prevailed: the Scots would stand their ground.

The Scots determine to stand their ground.

The sun of Midsummer Day rose on the rite of the mass done in front of the Scottish lines.

Men breakfasted, and Bruce knighted Douglas, the Steward, and others of his nobles. The host then moved out of the wood, and the standards rose above the spears of the schiltrons. Edward Bruce held the right wing; Randolph the centre; the left, under Douglas and the Steward, rested on St. Ninian's. Bruce, as he had arranged, was in reserve with Carrick and the Isles. "Will these men fight?" asked Edward, and Sir Ingram replied that such was their intent. He advised that the English should make a feigned retreat, when the Scots would certainly break their ranks—

The Scottish host advances.

"Then prick we on them hardily."

Edward rejected this old ruse, which probably would not have beguiled the Scottish leader. The Scots then knelt for a moment of prayer, as the Abbot of Inchafray bore the crucifix along the line; but they did not kneel to Edward. His van, under Gloucester, fell on Edward Bruce's division, where there was hand-to-hand fighting, broken lances, dying chargers, the rear ranks of Gloucester pressing vainly on the front ranks, unable to deploy for the straitness of the ground. Meanwhile, Randolph's men moved forward slowly, with extended spears, "as they were plunged in the sea" of charging knights. Douglas and the Steward were also engaged, and the "hideous shower" of arrows were ever raining from the bows of England. This must have been the

The great fight.

crisis of the fight, according to Barbour, and Bruce bade Keith with his five hundred horse charge the English archers on the flank. The bowmen do not seem to have been defended by pikes; they fell beneath the lances of the Marischal, as the archers of Ettrick had fallen at Falkirk. The Scottish archers now took heart, and loosed into the crowded and reeling ranks of England, while the flying bowmen of the South clashed against and confused the English charge. Then Scottish archers took to their steel sperthes (who ever loved to come to hand strokes), and hewed into the mass of the English, so that the field, whither Bruce brought up his reserves to support Edward Bruce on the right, was a mass of wild confused fighting. In this mellay the great body of the English army could do no stroke, swaying helplessly as Southern knights or Northern spears won some feet of ground. So, in the space between Halbert's Bog and the burn, the mellay rang and wavered, the long spears of the Scottish ranks unbroken, and pushing forward, the ground before them so covered with fallen men and horses that the English advance was clogged and crushed between the resistance in front and the pressure behind.

Slaughter of the English archers.

"God will have a stroke in every fight," says the romance of Malory. While discipline was lost, and England was trusting to sheer weight and "who will pound longest," a fresh

force, banners displayed, were seen rushing down the Gillies' Hill, beyond the Scottish right. The English could deem no less than that this multitude were tardy levies from beyond the Spey, above all when the slogans rang out from the fresh advancing host. It was a body of yeomen, shepherds, and camp-followers, who could no longer remain and gaze when fighting and plunder were in sight. With blankets fastened to cut saplings for banner-poles, they ran down to the conflict. The King saw them, and well knew that the moment had come: he pealed his ensenye (called his battle-cry); faint hearts of England failed; men turned, trampling through the hardy warriors who still stood and died; the knights who rode at Edward's rein strove to draw him toward the castle of Stirling. But now the foremost knights of Edward Bruce's division, charging on foot, had fought their way to the English King, and laid hands on the rich trappings of his horse. Edward cleared his way with strokes of his mace, his horse was stabbed, but a fresh mount was found for him. Even Sir Giles de Argentine, the third best knight on ground, bade Edward fly to Stirling Castle. "For me, I am not of custom to fly," he said, "nor shall I do so now. God keep you!" Thereon he spurred into the press, crying "Argentine!" and died among the spears. None held their ground for England. The burn was choked with fallen men and horses, so

The rush of the camp-followers.

Edward is almost captured.

that folk might pass dry-shod over it. The country-people fell on and slew. If Bruce had possessed more cavalry, not an Englishman would have reached the Tweed. Edward, as Argentine bade him, rode to Stirling, but Mowbray told him that there he would be but a captive king. He spurred South, with five hundred horse, Douglas following with sixty, so close that no Englishman might alight but was slain or taken. Laurence de Abernethy, with eighty horse, was riding to join the English, but turned, and, with Douglas, pursued them. Edward reached Dunbar, whence he took boat for Berwick. In his terror he vowed to build a college of Carmelites, students in theology. It is Oriel College to-day, with a Scot for Provost. Among those who fell on the English side were the son of the Red Comyn, Gloucester, Clifford, Harcourt, Courtenay, and seven hundred other gentlemen of coat-armor were slain. Hereford (later), with Angus, Umfraville, and Sir Thomas Grey were among the prisoners. Stirling, of course, surrendered.

The pursuit.

English slain.

The sun of Midsummer Day set on men wounded and weary, but victorious and free. The task of Wallace was accomplished. To many of the combatants not the least agreeable result of Bannockburn was the unprecedented abundance of booty. When campaigning, Edward denied himself nothing. His wardrobe and arms; his enormous and,

apparently, well-supplied array of food-wagons; his ecclesiastical vestments for the celebration of victory; his plate; his siege-artillery; his military chests, with all the jewelry of his young minion knights, fell into the hands of the Scots. Down to Queen Mary's reign we read, in inventories, about costly vestments "from the fight at Bannockburn." In Scotland it rained ransoms. The "Rotuli Scotiæ," in 1314 full of Edward's preparation for war, in 1315 are rich in safe-conducts for men going into Scotland to redeem prisoners. One of these, the brave Sir Marmaduke Twenge, renowned at Stirling Bridge, hid in the woods on Midsummer's Night, and surrendered to Bruce next day. The King gave him gifts, and set him free unransomed. Indeed, the clemency of Bruce after his success is courteously acknowledged by the English chroniclers.

Magnificent booty.

This victory was due to Edward's incompetence, as well as to the excellent dispositions and indomitable courage of Bruce, and to "the intolerable axes" of his men. No measures had been taken by Edward to secure a retreat. Only one rally, at "the Bloody Fauld," is reported. The English fought wildly, their measures being laid on the strength of a confidence which, after the skirmishes of Sunday, June 23, they no longer entertained. They suffered what, at Agincourt, Creçy, Poictiers, and Verneuil, their descendants were to in-

Causes of the defeat.

flict. Horses and banners, gay armor and chivalric trappings, were set at naught by the sperthes and spears of infantry acting on favorable ground. From the dust and reek of that burning day of June, Scotland emerged a people, firm in a glorious memory. Out of weakness she was made strong, being strangely led through paths of little promise since the day when Bruce's dagger-stroke at Dumfries closed from him the path of returning.

Scotland a united people.

[In 1328, on the death of the last male issue of Philip the Fair, the Salic Law is enforced and the French crown passes to the house of Valois. Edward III. of England (1337) lays claim to the crown; and the Hundred Years' War begins.]

THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

(A.D. 1343–1669)

RICHARD LODGE

THE word "hansa," when we find it first in the Gothic Bible of Ulfila, signifies a military assemblage or troop. From this comes the general sense of union, and especially in the Middle Ages of union for mercantile purposes. A later but less important meaning is that of a tax paid by traders for the right of forming such a union.

Definition of Hansa.

The Hansa, the league which ultimately overshadowed all rivals and usurped the name for itself, was no intentional creation, and we can fix no exact date for its origin. It arose gradually from two elements, the union of German merchants abroad, and the union of German towns at home.

The first impulse to mercantile union came from the dangers of travelling in the early Middle Ages. In those days mariners had neither chart nor compass to guide their course, and were forced to creep timidly along the shore and to avoid as much as possible the open sea. The merchant had also to dread

Dangers of medieval travel.

more positive dangers than those of storm and wreck. The coasts of northern Germany harbored numbers of rovers and pirates, who regarded the peaceful trader as their natural prey. To increase their powers of resistance, it was usual for merchants to undertake their voyages in more or less numerous companies. The union thus begun on sea was still further cemented on land. In those days law was personal and not territorial. The foreign merchant had no share in the law of the land where he sojourned; he brought with him his own law, and administered it as best he could. The legal customs of northern Germany were substantially alike; and this similarity strengthened the bonds of union among the merchants who found themselves for a time settled in a foreign land. Moreover, the state of trade frequently required a long stay, and sometimes a depositing of goods among strangers. This led in time to the acquisition of common possessions abroad, lodgings, storehouses, etc. This common *dépôt,* or "factory," became the central point of the union or Hansa formed by the merchants. The union soon received a corporative constitution. At its head stood the elders, whose chief functions were to administer justice and to represent the society in its relations to the natives of the country. It was by means of these orderly unions that the German merchants obtained their important privileges, chiefly advantages in trade and

Similarity of legal customs a bond of union.

taxes, from the people among whom they sojourned.

The most important German mercantile settlements were founded in Wisby, the capital of Gothland, London, Novgorod, Bergen, and Bruges. Wisby was the central point of the Baltic trade; the other towns represent the four extreme points of North-German commerce. Wisby differed from the other settlements in the fact that the Germans there were not merchants making a temporary visit, but were real settlers living side by side with the native population. Novgorod was a mere colony of the German settlement in Wisby, and never held an independent position. Bergen was comparatively unimportant, and the German "counter" in Bruges was not formed until some amount of union had been attained at home. But in the German colony in London the majority of the members were merely passing traders, who remained citizens of their native towns. It was, therefore, the London Hansa which exercised the greatest influence on the growth of the town league.

The important mercantile settlements

In the reign of Edgar we find the "people of the Emperor" occupying a prominent position in London trade, and joined in a lasting league. The members of this league came mostly from Cologne, the first German town which obtained great importance both at home and abroad. Its citizens possessed at an early date a guild-hall of their own, and all Ger-

Importance of Cologne.

mans who wished to trade with England had to join their guild. This soon included merchants from Dortmund, Soest, and Münster, in Westphalia; from Utrecht, Stavern, and Groningen, in the Netherlands; and from Premen and Hamburg on the North Sea. But when, at the beginning of the Thirteenth Century, the rapidly rising town of Lübeck wished to be admitted into the guild, every effort was made to keep her out. The intervention of the Emperor Frederick II. was powerless to overcome the dread felt by Cologne toward a possible rival to its supremacy. But this obstacle to the extension of the league was soon overcome. In 1260, a charter of Henry III. assured protection to all German merchants. A few years later Hamburg and Lübeck were allowed to form their own guilds. The Hansa of Cologne, which had long been the only guild, now sinks to the position of a branch Hansa, and has to endure others with equal privileges. Over all the branch Hansas rises the "Hansa Alamanniæ," first mentioned in 1282.

Growing importance of Lübeck.

The opposition to the exclusive pretensions of Cologne was chiefly the work of Lübeck, and with the rise of Lübeck we must connect the second element, the internal political element, which contributed to the formation of the Hansa. The old capitals of German trade, Cologne and Wisby, took their stand on the unions of German merchants abroad.

Political elements.

In opposition to them Lübeck found support in home alliances, in its league with Hamburg and with the Wendish towns. The alliance between Lübeck and Hamburg is generally, and with some truth, given as the origin of the Hanseatic League. It was well fitted to play this part. These two towns commanded the commerce of the North Sea and the Baltic. By taking the land route between them, a merchant could avoid the dangerous passage of the Sound or the Belts, and could evade the Sound dues which were often exacted by the Danish kings. The first alliance between the two towns, for which there is no exact date, had for its object the defence of the roads between them. From that came agreements as to mutual legal security, and thence they advanced to common political action in London and in Flanders.

Dues exacted by the Danish kings.

The league between Lübeck and Hamburg was not the only, and possibly not the first, league among the German towns. But it gradually absorbed all the others. Besides the influence of foreign commercial interests there were other motives which compelled the towns to union. The chief of these were the protection of commercial routes both by sea and land, and the vindication of town independence as opposed to the claims of the landed aristocracy.

League between Hamburg and Lubeck

In the Fourteenth Century the Hansa changes from a union of merchants abroad to

a league of towns at home. In 1330, mention is first made of the Hanse towns, where before it had been the Hanse merchants. In 1343, the league is first designated as the Hansa by a foreign prince, Magnus of Norway, and thus acquires a diplomatic position as a united state. In 1356, a statute about mercantile privileges at Bruges is made, not by the German merchants, but by the towns themselves, through their representatives assembled at Bruges. Henceforth the town-league subordinates to itself the mercantile unions; the factories and depots of the merchants lose their independence, and become the "counters," as they are called, of the Hanse towns.

First mention of the Hansa.

The league thus formed would scarcely have held long together or displayed any real federal unity but for the pressure of external dangers. The true function of the Hansa, and especially of the Baltic towns, was to conduct the commerce between the east and west of northern Europe. But the geographical position of the Scandinavian countries enabled them to interpose a bar to this commerce. Thus from an early period the Hansa stood in a position of watchful hostility toward those countries. It was the careful maintenance of this watch over the Baltic which gave Lübeck its position in the League, and which gave the League its political, as contrasted with its mercantile, character.

Its political character.

From 1361 we can date the regular meet-

ings of the general assemblies, whose acts (*Recesse*) have been preserved in the archives at Lübeck. These assemblies met once a year about midsummer, usually but not exclusively at Lübeck. They were attended by representatives of the various towns, but no one below the rank of councillor could act as representative. The League always endeavored to retain its aristocratic character. The assemblies busied themselves with all the details of foreign policy as well as of internal management. The penalty for non-observance of their decrees was expulsion from the League (*Verhansung*). The chief offence which brought this punishment on a town was the admission of democratic tendencies. The struggle between the artisans and the old burgher families, which is so important a feature of European history in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, necessarily affected the Hansa towns. It was for admitting artisans to the council that Brunswick was expelled from the League in 1375, and was not readmitted till 1380, when the old constitution was restored.

The general assemblies.

Aristocratic character of the Hanseatic League

The composition of the League was always fluctuating, and it is impossible to say at any fixed time how many members it contained. The towns lay scattered over a large territory, extending from Revel to the Scheldt, and their interests, both territorial and commercial, must have often clashed. It was only in

time of danger that the League displayed any real consistency. The wonder lies, not in the dissensions which sprang up among the towns, but in the fact that for three centuries they did in a manner hold together, and not infrequently sacrificed their individual advantages for the common good.

The decline of the Hansa.

With the Sixteenth Century the Hansa begins really to decline. The English and Dutch proved formidable rivals for the commercial supremacy in northern Europe. Henry VII. secured, in 1489, a treaty from Hans of Denmark, which gave England the right of commerce in the northern seas, and which enabled English merchants to found mercantile establishments in the ports. The herrings no longer came in crowds to the Swedish and Norwegian coasts, where the members of the Hansa had so long held a practical monopoly of the fisheries. These fish made at this time one of their periodical changes of course, and went to the coasts of Holland. The Dutch were not slow to grasp at the advantages thus offered to them. Another great blow was dealt to Hanseatic commerce by the grand discoveries of the age. Most of the German towns were out of the way of the new commercial routes, and could scarcely hope to hold their own with more favorably situated countries.

Events that led to the decline.

Besides these causes of decline, the domestic position of the Hanse towns had altered

very much for the worse. While in other countries the power of the feudal nobles had fallen before the rapid rise of the monarchy, aided by the sympathy of the commons, in Germany alone the power of the princes had constantly increased, at the expense of both king and people. The Reformation and the consequent secularization of church property in northern Germany only served to strengthen the hands of the lay princes. Such a state of things was fatal to the independence of a town league which had always stood opposed to the lawless independence of the nobles. Gradually most of the towns fell off from the League. Foreign countries triumphed at the fall of their formerly successful rival. In Elizabeth's reign the Hanse merchants in London lost the privileges which they had held since the time of Henry III.

Effect of the Reformation.

Religious disturbances and the fearful disasters of the Thirty Years' War completed the work thus begun. The peace of Westphalia restored the form but not the reality of the League. In 1669, the last general assembly was held. Henceforth the name of Hanse towns was kept by Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen, but it was to designate their independence, not their union.

Last general assembly.

BATTLE OF CRECY

(A.D. 1346)

DAVID HUME

IT is natural to think that Philip, at the head of so vast an army, was impatient to take revenge on the English, and to prevent the disgrace to which he must be exposed if an inferior enemy should be allowed, after ravaging so great a part of his kingdom, to escape with impunity. Edward also was sensible that such must be the object of the French monarch; and as he had advanced but a little way before his enemy, he saw the danger of precipitating his march over the plains of Picardy, and of exposing his rear to the insults of the numerous cavalry, in which the French camp abounded. He took, therefore, a prudent resolution: he chose his ground with advantage, near the village of Crecy; he disposed his army in excellent order; he determined to await in tranquillity the arrival of the enemy; and he hoped that their eagerness to engage and to prevent his retreat after all their past disappointments, would hurry them on to some rash and ill-concerted action. He drew up his army on a gentle ascent, and

Philip seeks revenge.

divided them into three lines: the first was commanded by the Prince of Wales, and, under him, by the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, by Harcourt, and by the Lords Chandos, Holland, and other noblemen: the Earls of Arundel and Northampton, with the Lords Willoughby, Basset, Roos, and Sir Lewis Tufton, were at the head of the second line: he took to himself the command of the third division, by which he purposed either to bring succor to the two first lines, or to secure a retreat in case of any misfortune, or to push his advantages against the enemy. He had likewise the precaution to throw up trenches on his flanks, in order to secure himself from the numerous bodies of the French, who might assail him from that quarter; and he placed all his baggage behind him in a wood, which he also secured by an intrenchment.

Edward prepares for attack.

It is related by some historians that Edward, besides the resources which he found in his own genius and presence of mind, employed also a new invention against the enemy, and placed in his front some pieces of artillery, the first that had yet been made use of on any remarkable occasion in Europe.

The invention of artillery was at this time known in France as well as in England; but Philip, in his hurry to overtake the enemy, had probably left his cannon behind him, which he regarded as a useless incumbrance. All his other movements discovered the same im-

Artillery first employed.

Philip's confidence.

prudence and precipitation. Impelled by anger, a dangerous counsellor, and trusting to the great superiority of his numbers, he thought that all depended on forcing an engagement with the English; and that, if he could once reach the enemy in their retreat, the victory on his side was certain and inevitable. He made a hasty march, in some confusion, from Abbeville; but after he had advanced above two leagues, some gentlemen, whom he had sent before to take a view of the enemy, returned to him, and brought him intelligence that they had seen the English drawn up in great order, and awaiting his arrival. They therefore advised him to defer the combat till the ensuing day, when his army would have recovered from their fatigue, and might be disposed into better order than their present hurry had permitted them to observe. Philip assented to this counsel; but the former precipitation of his march, and the impatience of the French nobility, made it impracticable for him to put it in execution. One division pressed upon another: orders to stop were not seasonably conveyed to all of them: this immense body was not governed by sufficient discipline to be manageable; and the French army, imperfectly formed into three lines, arrived, already fatigued and disordered, in presence of the enemy. The first line, consisting of 15,000 Genoese crossbow-men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles

French lack of discipline and order.

Grimaldi: the second was led by the Count of Alençon, brother to the King: the King himself was at the head of the third. Besides the French monarch, there were no less than three crowned heads in this engagement: the King of Bohemia, the King of the Romans, his son, and the King of Majorca; with all the nobility and great vassals of the crown of France. The army now consisted of above 120,000 men, more than three times the number of the enemy. But the prudence of one man was superior to the advantage of all this force and splendor.

The Genoese begin the attack.

The English, on the approach of the enemy, kept their ranks firm and immovable; and the Genoese first began the attack. There had happened, a little before the engagement, a thunder-shower, which had moistened and relaxed the strings of the Genoese crossbows; their arrows, for this reason, fell short of the enemy. The English archers, taking their bows out of their cases, poured in a shower of arrows upon this multitude who were opposed to them, and soon threw them into disorder. The Genoese fell back upon the heavy-armed cavalry of the Count of Alençon; who, enraged at their cowardice, ordered his troops to put them to the sword. The artillery fired amid the crowd; the English archers continued to send in their arrows among them; and nothing was to be seen in that vast body but hurry and confusion, terror and dismay.

The Black Prince follows up his advantage.

The young Prince of Wales had the presence of mind to take advantage of this situation, and to lead on his line to the charge. The French cavalry, however, recovering somewhat their order, and encouraged by the example of their leader, made a stout resistance; and having at last cleared themselves of the Genoese runaways, advanced upon their enemies, and by their superior numbers began to hem them round. The Earls of Arundel and Northampton now advanced their line to sustain the Prince, who, ardent in his first feats of arms, set an example of valor which was imitated by all his followers. The battle became, for some time, hot and dangerous; and the Earl of Warwick, apprehensive of the event from the superior numbers of the French, despatched a messenger to the King, and entreated him to send succors to the relief of the Prince. Edward had chosen his station on the top of the hill; and he surveyed in tranquillity the scene of action. When the messenger accosted him, his first question was, whether the Prince was slain or wounded? On receiving an answer in the negative, "Return," said he, "to my son, and tell him that I reserve the honor of the day to him: I am confident that he will show himself worthy of the honor of knighthood which I so lately conferred upon him: he will be able, without my assistance, to repel the enemy." This speech being reported to the Prince and his atten-

Edward is asked for reinforcements.

dants, inspired them with fresh courage: they made an attack with redoubled vigor on the French, in which the Count of Alençon was slain: that whole line of cavalry was thrown into disorder: the riders were killed or dismounted: the Welsh infantry rushed into the throng, and with their long knives cut the throats of all who had fallen; nor was any quarter given that day by the victors.

No quarter given.

The King of France advanced in vain with the rear to sustain the line commanded by his brother: he found them already discomfited; and the example of their rout increased the confusion which was before but too prevalent in his own body. He had himself a horse killed under him: he was remounted; and though left almost alone, he seemed still determined to maintain the combat; when John of Hainault seized the reins of his bridle, turned about his horse, and carried him off the field of battle. The whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the sword, without mercy, by the enemy; till the darkness of the night put an end to the pursuit. The King, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the Prince of Wales, and exclaimed, "My brave son! Persevere in your honorable cause: you are my son; for valiantly have you acquitted yourself to-day: you have shown yourself worthy of empire."

The King praises his son.

This battle, which is known by the name of the battle of Crecy, began after three

The French take to flight.

o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till evening. The next morning was foggy; and as the English observed that many of the enemy had lost their way in the night and in the mist, they employed a stratagem to bring them into their power: they erected on the eminences some French standards which they had taken in the battle; and all who were allured by this false signal were put to the sword, and no quarter given them. In excuse for this inhumanity, it was alleged that the French King had given like orders to his troops; but the real reason probably was, that the English, in their present situation, did not choose to be incumbered with prisoners. On the day of battle and on the ensuing, there fell, by a moderate computation, 1,200 French knights, 1,400 gentlemen, 4,000 men-at-arms, besides about 30,000 of inferior rank: many of the principal nobility of France, the Dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the Earls of Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, Aumale, were left on the field of battle. The kings also of Bohemia and Majorca were slain. The fate of the former was remarkable: he was blind from age; but being resolved to hazard his person, and set an example to others, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side to the horses of two gentlemen of his train; and his dead body, and those of his attendants, were afterward found among the slain, with their horses standing by them in that situation. His

Magnitude of the French losses.

crest was three ostrich feathers; and his motto these German words, *Ich dien* (I serve): which the Prince of Wales and his successors adopted, in memorial of this great victory. The action may seem no less remarkable for the small loss sustained by the English, than for the great slaughter of the French: there were killed in it only one esquire and three knights, and very few of inferior rank; a demonstration, that the prudent disposition planned by Edward, and the disorderly attack made by the French, had rendered the whole rather a rout than a battle; which was indeed the common case with engagements in those times.

Origin of the Prince of Wales's motto.

The great prudence of Edward appeared not only in obtaining this memorable victory, but in the measures which he pursued after it. Not elated by his present prosperity, so far as to expect the total conquest of France, or even that of any considerable provinces; he purposed only to secure such an easy entrance into that kingdom as might afterward open the way to more moderate advantages. He knew the extreme distance of Guienne: he had experienced the difficulty and uncertainty of penetrating on the side of the Low Countries, and had already lost much of his authority over Flanders by the death of D'Arteville, who had been murdered by the populace themselves, his former partisans, on his attempting to transfer the sovereignty of that province to

Edward's great prudence.

the Prince of Wales. The King, therefore, limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais: and after the interval of a few days, which he employed in interring the slain, he marched with his victorious army, and presented himself before the place.

He presents himself before Calais.

REVOLUTIONS IN ROME

(A.D. 1347)

HENRY HALLAM

ROME itself was, throughout the Middle Ages, very little disposed to acquiesce in the government of her bishop. His rights were indefinite, and unconfirmed by positive law; the Emperor was long sovereign, the people always meant to be free. Besides the common causes of insubordination and anarchy among the Italians, which applied equally to the capital city, other sentiments more peculiar to Rome preserved a continual, though not uniform, influence for many centuries. There still remained enough, in the wreck of that vast inheritance, to swell the bosoms of her citizens with a consciousness of their own dignity. They bore the venerable name, they contemplated the monuments of art and empire, and forgot, in the illusions of national pride, that the tutelar gods of the buildings were departed forever. About the middle of the Twelfth Century, these recollections were heightened by the eloquence of Arnold of Brescia, a political heretic, who preached against the temporal jurisdiction of the hier-

Internal state of Rome.

Arnold of Brescia.

archy. In a temporary intoxication of fancy, they were led to make a ridiculous show of self-importance toward Frederick Barbarossa, when he came to receive the imperial crown; but the German sternly chided their ostentation, and chastised their resistance. With the popes they could deal more securely. Several of them were expelled from Rome during that age by the seditious citizens. Lucius II. died of hurts received in a tumult. The government was vested in fifty-six Senators, annually chosen by the people, through the intervention of an electoral body: ten delegates from each of the thirteen districts of the city. This constitution lasted not quite fifty years. In 1192, Rome imitated the prevailing fashion by the appointment of an annual foreign magistrate. Except in name, the Senator of Rome appears to have perfectly resembled the podestà of other cities. This magistrate superseded the representative Senate, which had proved by no means adequate to control the most lawless aristocracy of Italy. I shall not repeat the story of Brancaleon's rigorous and inflexible justice, which a great historian has already drawn from obscurity. It illustrates not the annals of Rome alone, but the general state of Italian society, the nature of a podestà's duty, and the difficulties of its execution. The office of Senator survives after more than six hundred years; a foreign magistrate still resides in the capitol;

Barbarossa chastises the Romans

The Senator of Rome.

but he no longer wields the "iron flail" of Brancaleon, and his nomination proceeds of course from the supreme pontiff, not from the people. In the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, the Senate, and the Senator who succeeded them, exercised one distinguishing attribute of sovereignty, that of coining gold and silver money. Some of their coins still exist, with legends in a very republican tone. Doubtless the temporal authority of the popes varied according to their personal character. Innocent III. had much more than his predecessors for almost a century, or than some of his successors. He made the Senator take an oath of fealty to him, which, though not very comprehensive, must have passed in those times as a recognition of his superiority.

Right of coining money.

Though there was much less obedience to any legitimate power at Rome than anywhere else in Italy, even during the Thirteenth Century, yet after the secession of the popes to Avignon, their own city was left in a far worse condition than before. Disorders of every kind, tumult and robbery prevailed in the streets. The Roman nobility were engaged in perpetual war with each other. Not content with their own fortified palaces, they turned the sacred monuments of antiquity into strongholds, and consummated the destruction of time and conquest. At no period has the city endured such irreparable injuries; nor was the downfall of the Western Empire so fatal

Rome during the great Schism.

Feuds of the nobles.

to its capital, as the contemptible feuds of the Orsini and Colonna families. Whatever there was of government, whether administered by a legate from Avignon, or by the municipal authorities, had lost all hold on these powerful barons.

The Tribune Rienzi.

In the midst of this degradation and wretchedness, an obscure man, Nicola di Rienzi, conceived the project of restoring Rome not only to good order, but even to her ancient greatness. He had received an education beyond his birth, and nourished his mind with the study of the best writers. After many harangues to the people, which the nobility, blinded by their self-confidence, did not attempt to repress, Rienzi suddenly excited an insurrection, and obtained complete success. He was placed at the head of a new government, with the title of tribune, and with almost unlimited power. The first effects of this revolution were wonderful. All the nobles submitted, though with great reluctance; the roads were cleared of robbers; tranquillity was restored at home; some severe examples of justice intimidated offenders; and the tribune was regarded by all the people as the destined restorer of Rome and Italy. Though the court of Avignon could not approve of such a usurpation, it temporized enough not directly to oppose it. Most of the Italian republics, and some of the princes, sent ambassadors, and seemed to recognize pretensions

Restoration of law and order.

which were tolerably ostentatious. The King of Hungary and Queen of Naples submitted their quarrel to the arbitration of Rienzi, who did not, however, undertake to decide upon it. But this sudden exaltation intoxicated his understanding, and exhibited failings entirely incompatible with his elevated condition. If Rienzi had lived in our own age, his talents, which were really great, would have found their proper orbit. For his character was one not unusual among literary politicians; a combination of knowledge, eloquence, and enthusiasm for ideal excellence, with vanity, inexperience of mankind, unsteadiness, and physical timidity. As these latter qualities became conspicuous, they eclipsed his virtues, and caused his benefits to be forgotten; he was compelled to abdicate his government, and retire into exile. After several years, some of which he passed in the prisons of Avignon, Rienzi was brought back to Rome, with the title of Senator, and under the command of the legate. It was supposed that the Romans, who had returned to their habits of insubordination, would gladly submit to their favorite tribune. And this proved the case for a few months; but after that time they ceased altogether to respect a man who so little respected himself in accepting a station where he could no longer be free, and Rienzi was killed in a sedition.

Character of Rienzi.

His assassination.

Once more, not long after the death of

Rienzi, the freedom of Rome seems to have revived in republican institutions, though with names less calculated to inspire peculiar recollections. Magistrates called bannerets, chosen from the thirteen districts of the city, with a militia of three thousand citizens at their command, were placed at the head of this commonwealth. The great object of this new organization was to intimidate the Roman nobility, whose outrages, in the total absence of government, had grown intolerable. Several of them were hanged the first year by order of the bannerets. The citizens, however, had no serious intention of throwing off their subjection to the popes. They provided for their own security, on account of the lamentable secession and neglect of those who claimed allegiance while they denied protection. But they were ready to acknowledge and welcome back their bishop as their sovereign. Even without this, they surrendered their republican constitution in 1362—it does not appear for what reason—and permitted the legate of Innocent VI. to assume the government. We find, however, the institution of bannerets revived, and in full authority, some years afterward. But the internal history of Rome appears to be obscure, and I have not had opportunities of examining it minutely. Some degree of political freedom the city probably enjoyed during the schism of the Church; but it is not easy to discriminate the

Outrages of the nobles.

The papal legate governs.

assertion of legitimate privileges from the licentious tumults of the barons or populace. In 1435, the Romans formally took away the government from Eugenius IV., and elected seven signiors or chief magistrates, like the Priors of Florence. But this revolution was not of long continuance. On the death of Eugenius, the citizens deliberated upon proposing a constitutional charter to the future Pope. Stephen Porcaro, a man of good family, and inflamed by a strong spirit of liberty, was one of their principal instigators. But the people did not sufficiently partake of that spirit. No measures were taken upon this occasion; and Porcaro, whose ardent imagination disguised the hopelessness of his enterprise, tampering in a fresh conspiracy, was put to death under the pontificate of Nicholas V.

Seven chief magistrates elected.

THE BLACK DEATH

(A.D. 1348)

J. F. C. HECKER

THE most memorable example of calamitous plagues is afforded by a great pestilence of the Fourteenth Century, which desolated Asia, Europe, and Africa, and of which the people yet preserve the remembrance in gloomy traditions. It was an Oriental plague, marked by inflammatory boils and tumors of the glands, such as break out in no other febrile disease. On account of these inflammatory boils, and from the black spots, indicatory of a putrid decomposition, which appeared upon the skin, it was called in Germany and in the northern kingdoms of Europe, the *Black Death,* and in Italy, *la Mortalega Grande,* the Great Mortality.

An Oriental plague.

The imperial writer, Kantakusenos, whose own son, Andronikus, died of this plague in Constantinople, notices great imposthumes of the thighs and arms of those affected, which, when opened, afforded relief by the discharge of an offensive matter. Buboes, which are the

Description of the plague.

infallible signs of the Oriental plague, are thus plainly indicated, for he makes special mention of smaller boils on the arms and in the face, as also in other parts of the body, and clearly distinguishes these from the blisters, which are no less produced by plague in all its forms. In many cases black spots broke out all over the body, either single, or united and confluent.

Premonitory terrestrial revolutions.

Mighty revolutions, of which we have credible information, had preceded it. From China to the Atlantic, the foundations of the earth were shaken,—throughout Asia and Europe the atmosphere was in commotion, and endangered, by its baleful influence, both animal and vegetable life.

Droughts, floods and earthquakes in China.

The series of these great events began in the year 1333, fifteen years before the plague broke out in Europe: they first appeared in China. Here a parching drought, accompanied by famine, commenced in the tract of country watered by the rivers Kiang and Hoai. This was followed by such violent torrents of rain in and about Kingsai, at that time the capital of the empire, that, according to tradition, more than 400,000 people perished in the floods. Finally the mountain Tsincheou fell in, and vast clefts were formed in the earth. In the succeeding year (1334), passing over fabulous traditions, the neighborhood of Canton was visited by inundations; while in Tche, after an unexampled drought, a plague arose

which is said to have carried off about 5,000,000 of people. A few months afterward an earthquake followed, at and near Kingsai; and subsequent to the falling in of the mountains of Ki-ming-chan, a lake was formed of more than a hundred leagues in circumference, where, again, thousands found their grave. In Houkouang and Ho-nan, a drought prevailed for five months; and innumerable swarms of locusts destroyed the vegetation; while famine and pestilence, as usual, followed in their train. Connected accounts of the condition of Europe before this great catastrophe are not to be expected from the writers of the Fourteenth Century. It is remarkable, however, that simultaneously with a drought and renewed floods in China, in 1336, many uncommon atmospheric phenomena, and in the winter, frequent thunderstorms were observed in the north of France; and so early as the eventful year of 1333, an eruption of Etna took place.

Disturbances extend to Europe.

The signs of terrestrial commotions commenced in Europe in the year 1348, after the intervening districts of country in Asia had probably been visited in the same manner.

Earthquake and tornado in Cyprus.

On the island of Cyprus the plague from the East had already broken out, when an earthquake shook the foundations of the island, and was accompanied by so frightful a hurricane that the inhabitants, who had slain their Mahometan slaves, in order that

they might not themselves be subjugated by them, fled in dismay in all directions. The sea overflowed—the ships were dashed to pieces on the rocks, and few outlived the terrific event whereby this fertile and blooming island was converted into a desert. Before the earthquake, a pestiferous wind spread so poisonous an odor that many, being overpowered by it, fell down suddenly and expired in dreadful agonies.

Poisonous condition of the atmosphere.

This phenomenon is one of the rarest that have ever been observed, for nothing is more constant than the composition of the air; and in no respect has nature been more careful in the preservation of organic life. Never have naturalists discovered in the atmosphere foreign elements, which, evident to the senses, and borne by the winds, spread from land to land carrying disease over all portions of the earth, as is recounted to have taken place in the year 1348. Yet German accounts say expressly, that a thick, stinking mist advanced from the East and spread itself over Italy; and there could be no deception in so palpable a phenomenon.

To attempt, five centuries after that age of desolation, to point out the causes of a cosmical commotion, which has never recurred to an equal extent,—to indicate scientifically the influences which called forth so terrific a poison in the bodies of men and animals, exceeds the limits of human understanding.

Connected natural phenomena

In the progress of connected natural phenomena, from East to West, that great law of Nature is plainly revealed which has so often and evidently manifested itself in the earth's organism, as well as in the states of nations dependent upon it. In the inmost depths of the globe, that impulse was given in the year 1333, which in uninterrupted succession for six-and-twenty years shook the surface of the earth, even to the western shores of Europe. From the very beginning the air partook of the terrestrial concussion, atmospherical waters overflowed the land, or its plants and animals perished under the scorching heat. The insect tribe was wonderfully called into life, as if animated beings were destined to complete the destruction which astral and telluric powers had begun. Thus did this dreadful work of nature advance from year to year; it was a progressive infection of the Zones, which exerted a powerful influence both above and beneath the surface of the earth; and after having been perceptible in slighter indications, at the commencement of the terrestrial commotions in China, convulsed the whole earth.

Insect plagues.

Contagion communicated by caravans.

Far more powerful than the excitement of the latent elements of the plague by atmospheric influences was the effect of the contagion communicated from one people to another, on the great roads, and in the harbors of the Mediterranean. From China, the

route of the caravans lay to the north of the Caspian Sea, through Central Asia to Tauris. Here ships were ready to take the produce of the East to Constantinople, the capital of commerce, and the medium of connection between Asia, Europe and Africa. Other caravans went from India to Asia Minor, and touched at the cities south of the Caspian Sea, and lastly from Bagdad, through Arabia to Egypt; also the maritime communication on the Red Sea, from India to Arabia and Egypt, was not inconsiderable. In all these directions contagion made its way; and, doubtless Constantinople and the harbors of Asia Minor are to be regarded as the foci of infection; whence it radiated to the most distant seaports and islands.

From China to Europe.

The precise days of its eruption in the individual towns are no longer to be ascertained; but it was not simultaneous; for in Florence the disease appeared in the beginning of April; in Cesena, the 1st of June; and place after place was attacked throughout the whole year; so that the plague, after it had passed through the whole of France and Germany, where, however, it did not make its ravages until the following year, did not break out till August in England; where it advanced so gradually that a period of three months elapsed before it reached London. The northern kingdoms were attacked by it in 1349. Sweden, indeed, not until November of that

Gradual steady advance.

year: almost two years after its eruption in Avignon. Poland received the plague in 1349, probably from Germany, if not from the northern countries; but in Russia, it did not make its appearance until 1351, more than three years after it had broken out in Constantinople. Instead of advancing in a northwesterly direction from Tauris and from the Caspian Sea, it had thus made the great circuit of the Black Sea, by way of Constantinople, Southern and Central Europe, England, the northern kingdoms and Poland, before it reached the Russian territories; a phenomenon which has not again occurred with respect to more recent pestilences originating in Asia.

It follows the coast line of Europe.

It was reported to Pope Clement at Avignon that throughout the East, probably with the exception of China, 23,840,000 people had fallen victims to the plague. In Florence there died of the Black Plague, 60,000; in Venice, 100,000; in Marseilles (in one month), 16,000; in Sienna, 70,000; in Paris, 50,000; in St. Denys, 14,000; in Avignon, 60,000; in Strasburg, 16,000; in Lübeck, 9,000; in Basle, 14,000; in Erfurt (at least), 16,000; in Weimar, 5,000; in Limburg, 2,500; in London (at least), 100,000; in Norwich, 51,000; to which may be added Franciscan Friars in Germany 124,434, Minorites in Italy 30,000. This short catalogue might by a laborious and uncertain calculation, deduced from other

Number of victims.

sources, be easily further multiplied, but would still fail to give a true picture of the depopulation which took place. Lübeck, at that time the Venice of the North, which could no longer contain the multitudes that flocked to it, was thrown into such consternation on the eruption of the plague that the citizens destroyed themselves as if in frenzy. It is estimated that a number of small country towns and villages, which have been estimated, and not too highly, at 200,000, were bereft of all their inhabitants.

Duration of the plague.

The whole period during which the Black Plague raged with destructive violence in Europe was, with the exception of Russia, from the year 1347 to 1350. The plagues which in the sequel often returned until the year 1383, we do not consider as belonging to "the Great Mortality." They were rather common pestilences, without inflammation of the lungs, such as in former times, and in the following centuries were excited by the matter of contagion everywhere existing, and which, on every favorable occasion, gained ground anew, as is usually the case with this frightful disease.

Ravages among pilgrims.

The concourse of large bodies of people was especially dangerous; and thus the premature celebration of the Jubilee, to which Clement VI. cited the faithful to Rome (1350), during the great epidemic, caused a new eruption of the plague, from which

it is said that scarcely one in a hundred of the pilgrims escaped. Italy was, in consequence, depopulated anew; and those who returned spread poison and corruption of morals in all directions.

Frightful mortality.

Of all the estimates of the number of lives lost in Europe, the most probable is that, altogether, a fourth part of the inhabitants were carried off: Now, if Europe at present contains 210,000,000 inhabitants, the population not to take a higher estimate, which might be easily justified, amounted to at least 105,000,000, in the Sixteenth Century.

It may, therefore, be assumed, without exaggeration, that Europe lost during the Black Death 25,000,000 of inhabitants. That her nations could so quickly overcome such a fearful concussion in their external circumstances, and, in general, without retrograding more than they actually did, could so develop their energies in the following century, is a most convincing proof of the indestructibility of human society as a whole. To assume, however, that it did not suffer any essential change internally, because in appearance everything remained as before, is inconsistent with a just view of cause and effect. Many historians seem to have adopted such an opinion, accustomed, as usual, to judge of the moral condition of the people solely according to the vicissitudes of earthly power, the events of battles, and the influence of religion,

Permanent effects of the visitation.

THE BLACK DEATH

From the painting by Mignard

—Vol. III, page 862

but to pass over with indifference the great phenomena of nature, which modify, not only the surface of the earth, but also the human mind. Hence, most of them have touched but superficially on the "Great Mortality" of the Fourteenth Century. We, for our parts, are convinced that, in the history of the world, the Black Death is one of the most important events which have prepared the way for the present state of Europe.

The mental shock sustained by all nations during the prevalence of the Black Plague is without parallel and beyond description. In the eyes of the timorous, danger was the certain harbinger of death; many fell victims to fear, on the first appearance of the distemper, and the most stout-hearted lost their confidence. Thus, after reliance on the future had died away, the spiritual union which binds man to his family and his fellow-creatures was gradually dissolved. The pious closed their accounts with the world—eternity presented itself to their view—their only remaining desire was for a participation in the consolations of religion, because to them death was disarmed of its sting.

Terror kills multitudes.

While all countries were filled with lamentations and woe, there first arose in Hungary, and afterward in Germany, the Brotherhood of the Flagellants, called also the Brethren of the Cross, or Cross-bearers, who took upon themselves the repentance of the people for the

Brotherhood of the Cross.

sins they had committed, and offered prayers and supplications for the averting of this plague. This Order consisted chiefly of persons of the lower class, who were either actuated by sincere contrition, or who joyfully availed themselves of this pretext for idleness, and were hurried along with the tide of distracting frenzy. But as these brotherhoods gained in repute, and were welcomed by the people with veneration and enthusiasm, many nobles and ecclesiastics ranged themselves under their standard; and their bands were not infrequently augmented by children, honorable women and nuns, so powerfully were the minds of the most opposite temperaments enslaved by this infatuation. They marched through the cities, in well organized processions, with leaders and singers; their heads covered as far as the eyes, their look fixed on the ground, accompanied by every token of the deepest contrition and mourning. They were robed in sombre garments, with red crosses on the breast, back, and cap, and bore triple scourges tied in three or four knots, in which points of iron were fixed. Tapers and magnificent banners of velvet and cloth of gold were carried before them; wherever they made their appearance, they were welcomed by the ringing of the bells; and the people flocked from all quarters to listen to their hymns and to witness their penance, with devotion and tears.

Accessions from all ranks.

The processions of the Brotherhood of the Cross undoubtedly promoted the spreading of the plague; and it is evident that the gloomy fanaticism which gave rise to them would infuse a new poison into the already desponding minds of the people.

Processions aggravate the evil.

Still, however, all this was within the bounds of barbarous enthusiasm; but horrible were the persecutions of the Jews which were committed in most countries with even greater exasperation than in the Twelfth Century during the first Crusades. In every destructive pestilence, the common people at first attribute the mortality to poison. No instruction avails; the supposed testimony of their eyesight is to them a proof, and they authoritatively demand the victims of their rage. On whom then was it so likely to fall as on the Jews, the usurers and the strangers who lived at enmity with the Christians? They were everywhere suspected of having poisoned the wells or infected the air. They alone were considered as having brought this fearful mortality upon the Christians. They were, in consequence, pursued with merciless cruelty, and either indiscriminately given up to the fury of the populace or sentenced by sanguinary tribunals, which, with all the forms of law, ordered them to be burned alive.

Persecutions of the Jews.

A lively image of the Black Plague, and of the moral evil which followed in its train, will vividly represent itself to him who is ac-

quainted with nature and the constitution of society. Almost the only credible accounts of the manner of living and of the ruin which occurred in private life during this pestilence are from Italy; and these may enable us to form a just estimate of the general state of families in Europe, taking into consideration what is peculiar in the manners of each country.

Conditions of family life affected

"When the evil had become universal" (speaking of Florence) "the hearts of all the inhabitants were closed to feelings of humanity. They fled from the sick and all that belonged to them, hoping by these means to save themselves. Others shut themselves up in their houses, with their wives, their children and households, living on the most costly food, but carefully avoiding all excess. None were allowed access to them; no intelligence of death or sickness was permitted to reach their ears; and they spent their time in singing and music, and other pastimes. Others, on the contrary, considered eating and drinking to excess, amusements of all descriptions, the indulgence of every gratification, and an indifference to what was passing around them, as the best medicine, and acted accordingly. They wandered day and night, from one tavern to another, and feasted without moderation or bounds. In this way they endeavored to avoid all contact with the sick, and abandoned their houses and property to chance,

Luxury and excesses.

like men whose death-knell had already tolled.

"Amid this general lamentation and woe, the influence and authority of every law, human and divine, vanished. Most of those who were in office had been carried off by the plague, or lay sick, or had lost so many members of their families, that they were unable to attend to their duties; so that thenceforth every one acted as he thought proper. Others, in their mode of living, chose a middle course. They ate and drank what they pleased, and walked abroad, carrying odoriferous flowers, herbs or spices, which they smelt to from time to time, in order to invigorate the brain, and to avert the baneful influence of the air, infected by the sick, and by the innumerable corpses of those who had died of the plague. Others carried their precaution still further, and thought the surest way to escape death was by flight. They therefore left the city; women as well as men abandoning their dwellings and their relations, and retiring into the country. But of these also many were carried off, most of them alone and deserted by all the world, themselves having previously set the example. Thus it was that one citizen fled from another—a neighbor from his neighbors, a relation from his relations; and in the end so completely had terror extinguished every kindlier feeling that the brother forsook the brother, the sister the sister, the wife her hus-

Perfumes and antidotes.

Terror breaks family ties.

band; and at last, even the parent his own offspring, and abandoned them, unvisited and unsoothed, to their fate. Those, therefore, that stood in need of assistance fell a prey to greedy attendants, who for an exorbitant recompense merely handed the sick their food and medicine, remained with them in their last moments, and then not infrequently became themselves victims to their avarice and lived not to enjoy their extorted gain. Propriety and decorum were extinguished among the helpless sick. Females of rank seemed to forget their natural bashfulness, and committed the care of their persons, indiscriminately, to men and women of the lowest order. No longer were women, relatives or friends found in the house of mourning, to share the grief of the survivors; no longer was the corpse accompanied to the grave by neighbors and a numerous train of priests, carrying wax tapers and singing psalms, nor was it borne along by other citizens of equal rank. Many breathed their last without a friend to soothe their dying pillow; and few indeed were they who departed amid the lamentations and tears of their friends and kindred. Instead of sorrow and mourning appeared indifference, frivolity and mirth; this being considered, especially by the females, as conducive to health. Seldom was the body followed by even ten or twelve attendants; and instead of the usual bearers and sextons, mercenaries of the lowest

Funeral customs omitted.

of the populace undertook the office for the sake of gain, and accompanied by only a few priests, and often without a single taper, it was borne to the very nearest church, and lowered into the first grave that was not already too full to receive it. Among the middling classes, and especially among the poor, the misery was still greater. Poverty or negligence induced most of these to remain in their dwellings, or in the immediate neighborhood; and thus they fell by thousands: and many ended their lives in the streets by day and by night. The stench of putrefying corpses was often the first indication to their neighbors that more deaths had occurred. The survivors, to preserve themselves from infection, generally had the bodies taken out of the houses and laid before the doors, where the early morn found them in heaps, exposed to the affrighted gaze of the passing stranger. It was no longer possible to have a bier for every corpse. Three or four were generally laid together—husband and wife, father and mother, with two or three children, were frequently borne to the grave on the same bier; and it often happened that two priests would accompany a coffin, bearing the cross before it, and be joined on the way by several other funerals; so that instead of one, there were five or six bodies for interment."

Misery of the poor.

Whole families in one burial.

Thus far Boccaccio. On the conduct of the

Conduct of the clergy.

priests, another contemporary* observes: "In large and small towns, they had withdrawn themselves through fear, leaving the performance of ecclesiastical duties to the few who were found courageous and faithful enough to undertake them." But we ought not on that account to throw more blame on them than on the others; for we find proofs of the same timidity and heartlessness in every class. During the prevalence of the Black Plague, the charitable orders conducted themselves admirably, and did as much good as can be done by individual bodies in times of great misery and destruction; when compassion, courage and the nobler feelings are found but in the few, while cowardice, selfishness and ill-will, with the baser passions in their train, assert the supremacy.

The charitable orders.

[In 1353, the conquest of Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, gave the Ottomans their first foothold in Europe.]

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* Guillelm de Nangis.

EXECUTION OF MARINO FALIERO

(A.D. 1355)

OSCAR BROWNING

THE Doge Andrea Dandolo died in September 1354. He had governed the republic for twelve years with remarkable wisdom and moderation. He was succeeded by Marino Faliero, who has left a name of sinister omen in the long line of Venetian sovereigns. Faliero was a man of great wealth, and was at this time seventy-six years of age. He heard of his election at Verona, as he was returning from an embassy to the court of Avignon. He entered in triumph on October 15. The first weeks of his dukedom were signalized by disaster. After a vain attempt on the part of the Visconti to make peace, the Genoese braced themselves for a new effort. They placed thirty-three galleys under the command of Paganino Doria; the Venetians met them with thirty-five galleys under Niccolò Pisani. The loss of the town of Parenza, and terror lest the Genoese should attack the capital, had caused the death of Dandolo. Pisani was recalled,

Faliero's accession

but on his way home he put into the harbor of Porto Lungo on the coast of Laconia. Here, almost on the very spot where a crushing blow had been inflicted by the Athenians upon the Spartans in the Peloponnesian war, Doria pursued him, and on November 3 succeeded in bringing on a battle which resulted in the entire defeat of the Venetians. Doria returned in triumph to Genoa, bringing with him the Venetian Admiral with all his fleet and 6,870 prisoners. The defeat of Grimaldi at Loiera was amply revenged. The result of the battle was, first, a suspension of arms and then a definite peace. The main conditions were that the Genoese and Venetians were to restore each other's prisoners, and the Venetians were not to sail to Rome for three years; also that no Genoese ship was to pass into the Adriatic, and no Venetian ship to pass between Porto Pisano and Marseilles. As a guarantee for the observance of the conditions, Venice and Genoa were each to deposit a hundred thousand gold florins in Siena, Pisa, Florence, or Perugia. The treaty was dated June 1, 1355.

Triumph of the Genoese.

Before this treaty was concluded a terrible conspiracy had been detected and punished at Venice. The conspiracy of Marino Faliero may or may not have had a romantic origin. It is certain that its real cause lay in the fundamental character of Venetian institutions. We have seen how the government of the Republic

The conspiracy of Marino Faliero.

came gradually to be confined to a close oligarchy; how the Great Council usurped the power which belonged to the people on one side, and to the Doge on the other; how the Great Council itself was confined to a comparatively few families; and how the power of the Great Council was circumscribed by the creation of a political inquisition, in the shape of the Council of Ten. Lord Beaconsfield is believed to have invented the term, "our Venetian constitution," in speaking of the English Government, meaning to imply that the parliament or "the chambers," as perhaps he would have called them, have curtailed the authority of the sovereign, and absorbed the political influence of the people, and that the parliament itself had fallen into the hands of certain privileged families, namely, the Whig families of the revolution of 1688. It is not certain what end Faliero had in view. The idea has been generally accepted, founded on the evidence of Matteo Villani, that he desired to establish a popular government. Recent writers have thought it more probable that he wished to establish a despotism similar to those existing in the other towns of Italy. Certain it is that he wished to overthrow the exclusive authority of the nobles. One of his principal accomplices was Bertuccio Isdraeli, a distinguished sailor, and a man of the people. It may be that the recent war against Genoa had given an impulse to democracy, just as at

Council of Ten the Government.

Ultimate aims.

Athens the democratic sailors took a position of greater influence when the fleet had been brought into prominence. On the other hand, the Doge was connected with the most aristocratic families of Venice; the Republic was now extending its empire on *terra firma,* and had to fear the rivalry of the tyrants of the Lombard plain, the Este, Gonzaghi, Scaligeri, and Visconti. It might be the most patriotic course in the pressing dangers of the State to consolidate power into a single hand. Both views are indeed reconcilable. We see in the Republic of Holland that the people were always ready to support the authority of the stadtholders against the oligarchy of the rich merchants. Faliero might believe that he was acting a patriotic part, and that in shaking off the thraldom of the nobles, he was not only true to the history of his country, but was taking the best course to preserve it from imminent danger. These questions will probably never be settled, for the volume of the archives of the Council of Ten, which is said to have contained the full account of Faliero's crime, has been lost beyond recovery.

A patriotic basis.

However this may be, a rising was planned for April 15, 1355. The signal for action was to be the sound of the great bell of St. Mark's, which was never rung except by the express order of the Doge. A cry was to be made that the fleet of Genoa was before the town; the nobles were to be cut down as they entered

The signal for action.

the square of St. Mark. Amid shouts of *Viva il popolo!* Marino Faliero was to be proclaimed *principe*. The plot was revealed the day before that fixed for its execution by one Bertrando of Bergamo, who was not in the conspiracy, but had been ordered to execute some minor portion of the plan. He told what he knew to Niccolò Lioni, one of the Council of Ten, who immediately informed the Doge. There was no suspicion that the Doge himself was concerned in the plot, but Faliero showed very little presence of mind. He disputed some of the evidence, said that he already knew other parts of it, and gradually inspired Lioni with a suspicion that he did not before possess. The conspirators were arrested in their houses, and guards were posted to prevent the ringing of the great bell of Saint Mark. The conspirators, when put to the torture, all accused the Doge of complicity in the scheme, and he did not deny his guilt. The Council of Ten did not dare to try him by themselves, but summoned twenty nobles to act with them, forming a body which was afterward made permanent under the name of Giunta or Zonta. Faliero was condemned to death, and was executed on April 17, 1355, in the courtyard of the palace. The gates communicating with the square of St. Mark were closed for fear of a rising among the people. But immediately after the execution one of the Council of Ten appeared on the balcony

Execution of the Doge.

of the palace, holding the blood-stained sword which had just done its work. The gates were thrown open, and the people saw the head of the traitor rolling in its blood. In the great hall of the ducal palace, where the portraits of the long line of doges form a cornice below the roof, there is a single gap. A black curtain covers the space where a portrait should be, and on it is written, "Locus Marini Falieri decapitati pro criminibus." Such is the story of the victim whom Byron has immortalized. Whatever judgment we pass on his enterprise, its failure had the effect of riveting more closely on doge and people the fetters of a narrow and suspicious oligarchy. Conspiracy rarely succeeds, and is never justified except by success.

[In 1356, Edward the Black Prince defeated the French at Poitiers and took their king prisoner. This disaster was followed by insurrection in Paris, headed by Marcel.]

THE JACQUERIE

(A.D. 1358)

HENRI MARTIN

Sufferings of the peasantry.

WHAT the inhabitants of the country had endured for two years surpassed the measure of human misery: the nobility had visited upon their subjects all the brunt of the disaster at Poitiers, and had only kept the shame of it for themselves. One can imagine what might be the great tax upon the feudal lands of many thousands of ransoms; the nobles could not, nor did they wish to, borrow from the Lombards, or Jews, at that time proscribed and scattered; whosoever had money would rather bury it than lend it; to sell their lands in sum or in part was not practicable either; that mass of fiefs, even at a low price, would not find purchasers; the peasant paid for everything. Each lord drew from his free peasants as much aid as possible; as for the serfs, at the mercy of taxation, the whip, the dungeon, and torture were useful in extorting from their very bodies their last penny; their complaints were replied to by blows and gibes; "Jacques

Bonhomme," as the soldiers called the peasant, "Jacques Bonhomme has a good back, he stands everything!" He would still have suffered everything, being so well accustomed to it, if he had been allowed to breathe again and to get back to work; but after the lords came the brigands: Jacques Bonhomme had scarcely delivered to his master the humble savings accumulated during two or three generations, when companies arrived to empty his stable, to carry away from his barn the little that the lord had left, and, in their turn, to leave behind them rape, murder and conflagration, while the lord, from the security of his well-fortified and well-provisioned manor-house, looked with tranquillity upon the peasant's burning cabin without deigning to draw a bolt upon the brigands,—gentlemen most of them, and perhaps, indeed, his relatives. After having seen his daughter outraged and his son massacred, Jacques Bonhomme, famished and bleeding, issued from the ruins of his hut.

Jacques Bonhomme.

On the 28th of May several *"menues gens"** of Saint-Leu de Cérent (or Essérent), Nointel, Cramoisi, and several other villages of Beauvaisis and the environs of Clermont, assembled and agreed that all the nobles of France, knights and squires, "*honnissoient* [shamed] and betrayed the kingdom, and that it would be a very good thing to destroy

The rising.

* Common people.

them all . . . And every one said: 'That is true! that is true! Shame to him who would delay slaughtering all the nobles!'" They elected a very wily peasant named Guillaume Callet, of the town of Merlot, for their commander, and "went forth, without any other arms save their iron-bound clubs and knives," to the house of a knight who dwelt near by, forced the castle and killed the governor and his wife and children: a second manor-house was treated in the same way, and several knights were killed at Saint-Leu. At this signal, all the peasants in the country seized their knives, their axes, their plowshares, cut sticks in the woods to make pikes, and fell upon the nobles, assailing boldly those proud castles before which they had trembled for so long, and carried them by assault, killing everybody they found in them and setting fire to them afterward. In a few days the insurrection spread in every sense with the velocity of a fire that leaps over a plain covered with dry grass; it embraced Beauvaisis, Amiénois, Ponthieu, Vermandois, Noyonnais, the Seigneurie de Courci, Laonnois, Soissonnais, Valois, Brie, Gâtinais, Hurepoix, and all the Ile de France; it spread over all the territory between the mouth of the Somme and the banks of the Yonne; more than a hundred thousand peasants quitted the spade for the pike: the huts had been burned—now it was the turn of the castles.

Conspiracy against the nobles.

The peasants attack the castles.

Stupefaction of the nobility.

The nobility was stupefied: beasts of prey would not have been more astonished if the flocks which they are accustomed to tear to pieces without resistance should suddenly turn upon them with fury. Scarcely any of the nobles tried to defend themselves: the most illustrious families fled ten or twenty leagues away when the approach of the Jacques was noted and saw behind them ramparts and dungeons crumbling in the whirlwind of flames: more than sixty fortresses and "bonnes maisons" were destroyed in Beauvaisis, Amiénois and Santerre; more than a hundred in Valois and the dioceses of Laon, Noyon and Soissons, without counting those destroyed in Bris, in the environs of Senlis and in the other districts of the Ile de France and in Champagne. All the castles of the house of Montmorenci were razed. The Duchess of Orleans had barely time to escape from Beaumont-sur-Oise, which was sacked immediately after her flight; she sought shelter at Meaux, to which the Duchess of Normandy and more than three hundred noble ladies and girls had retired "in fear of being outraged and subsequently murdered by these wicked people," says Froissart. They could hope for no mercy; no insurrection of modern times had such a terrible and atrocious character. The Jacques possessed no longer the religious exaltation of the shepherds; they waited no longer for the Holy Spirit and the reign of Justice; they fought so

Flight of noble ladies

as to return torture for torture, outrage for outrage, so as to empty out in a few days that horrible store of hatred and vengeance that had been transmitted from age to age by the generations that had died upon the land. The scenes during the revolt of the blacks at San Domingo can alone give an idea of what passed in the castles invaded by the Jacques. They even killed little children "who had not yet done any evil," says the continuator of Nangis.

The peasants show no mercy.

Despite the excesses and cruelties of the Jacques, the middle class party could not resist profiting by such a diversion, and many "rich men," on the spur of the moment, mingled in the Jacquerie to endeavor to moderate and direct it. Marcel resolutely tried both: he sent three hundred Parisians to help the Jacques take the strong Château d'Ermenonville: they did not cut the throats of the people they found there; but they forced them to renounce gentilesse and nobility: thus says Robert de Lorris, King John's chamberlain, one of the seven grand officers later denounced by the State. That band of Jacques, having, however, begun again massacres elsewhere, the Parisian detachment separated itself, and, on Marcel's order, traversed the country throughout to publish that "on pain of losing his head, no one, unless he wished to make himself enemy of the good city of Paris, should kill the wives or children of gentle-

Stephen Marcel sends aid to the Jacques.

men, nor pillage, burn, or destroy houses belonging to them." Paris offered an asylum to such noble families as were not notoriously identified with the party that wished ill to the people. But, at the same time, Marcel continued to negotiate with the leaders of the Jacques.

Peasants command the country.

The peasants, on the other hand, felt the necessity of allying themselves with the bourgeois; they went to Compiègne, a royalist town, which shut its gates to them, but they were received in Senlis: they were masters of all the flat country from Paris to Noyon, Soissons and Laon; "and there were," the *Chronique de Saint Denis* says—"there were very few towns or cities in France that were not moved against the nobles, whether in sympathy with Paris or with the peasants." The common people of the cities sympathized everywhere with the Parisians, and even with the Jacques: a success of some importance had gained over all the municipal corps that still hesitated. Marcel, who wanted to repress a plot formed to introduce the soldiers of the regent into Paris, resolved to make an attack upon Meaux: the regent had surrounded, with very strong walls, the market of that town, situated on an island formed by the Marne and the canal of the Cornillon, and had converted it into his stronghold. The attack was solicited by the inhabitants of Meaux themselves, who did not dare alone to rise up

The attack upon Meaux.

against the garrison of the Market, the insolence of which had reached the extreme. Jean Vaillant, provost of the mint, went to Silli in Mulcien to place himself at the head of a band of Jacques, and advanced from there upon Meaux; the peasants of Valois and Brie hastened from all directions to join him on the way; beneath the ramparts of Meaux he joined several hundreds of Parisians led by the grocer, Pierre Gilles. Jean Soulas, the mayor and the middle class of Meaux immediately opened the gates of the city to them, into which nine or ten thousand furious peasants precipitated themselves; the people of Meaux placed tables and cloths in the streets, and made this famished multitude eat and drink liberally, and then attack the Market.

Meaux opens its gates.

They knew in Paris that the regent had left for Montereau and Sens, and they believed the garrison of Meaux to be weak enough at this moment: Marcel had thought that the Jacques would suffice to carry the fortress with a bold attack and had sent only a feeble aid from Paris. This mistake cost a great deal: an unexpected relief had reached the garrison; Gaston Phœbus, Count of Foix, one of the most brilliant knights of Christendom, and the Captal de Buch, an Anglo-Gascon lord, returning from warring against the Prussian pagans, had heard at Châlons of the perils that menaced the noble ladies who had taken refuge at Meaux, and ran

Bravery of Gaston Phœbus and the Captal de Buch.

to offer the services of sixty valiant lances. The gentlemen of the garrison, excited by the danger to the ladies and the presence of these renowned knights, did not wait for an attack, but opened the gate of the Market and impetuously charged the peasants, "who were black and little and very badly armed," says Froissart. These unhappy men, half-naked, misshapen, and more than half famished, could not withstand the shock of men who were robust, skilful and protected with almost impenetrable armor: they killed several knights, however; but they were very soon overthrown, and completely put to rout; "the soldiers cut them to pieces, and killed those they had left whole by making them jump into the river of Marne. They put an end to more than seven thousand" (Froissart). The victors, crossing the bridge pell-mell with the fugitives, rushed upon the town "like furies," massacred or took as prisoners all the bourgeois that they could seize, pillaged the houses and the churches, and started a fire in Meaux that burned fifteen days. The town was very nearly destroyed: the faubourg had been burned during the attack, and the inhabitants who wished to flee had been driven into the flames at the lance point. The Mayor, Jean Soulas, who was among the prisoners, was hanged (June 9).

The Jacquerie overthrown

This first combat was decisive against the Jacquerie; the nobles, recovering from their

first fright, armed on every side and called to their aid all their relatives and friends in the Low Countries; they immediately took again the offensive and imitated everywhere, as best they could, the example of the garrison of Meaux, which, after its bloody victory, set itself the task of rushing through the country, burning the villages, and cutting the throats of all the peasants that fell into its hands. The paroxysm of fury which had transported the peasants began to give place to discouragement and fright: the chief of the Jacquerie de Beauvoisin, Guillaume Callet, who was called the King of the Jacques, tried to treat with the King of Navarre; but Charles the Bad feared if he accepted such an alliance that he would place himself under a ban with the nobility; two of the relatives of the Sire de Picquini, the most considerable of his partisans, had, moreover, been put to death by the Jacques. Charles of Navarre gave courteous speech to the "King of the Jacques" and to his principal adherents, who repaired to Clermont upon the invitation of the Navarrois; but the bourgeois of Clermont arrested the chiefs of the peasants and delivered them to the Navarrois, who cut off their heads. A contemporary author pretends that he crowned Guillaume Callet with a trivet of red-hot iron. After this execution, the King of Navarre, accompanied by the Count of Saint-Pol, went to crush, unawares, a body of

Guillaume Callet tries to treat with the King of Navarre.

Behavior of Charles of Navarre.

insurgent peasants encamped near Montdidier, and killed three thousand and scattered the rest.

The regent and his soldiers, between the Seine and the Marne, and the Sire Enguerrand de Couci, between the Oise and the Aisne, likewise destroyed numerous bands of the Jacques. The nobles and their auxiliaries that had come from every side, gave chase to the peasants, as the latter had done to the nobles: they slew them right and left, peasants and serfs, "guilty or not," in the houses, in the fields, in the vineyards, wherever they found them; more than twenty thousand had perished before Saint-John's Day, and the carnage continued for long afterward. Entire cantons were nearly depopulated. "Such great evil had been done by the nobles of France, that there was no need for the English to destroy the country; for, in truth, the English, enemies of the kingdom, could not have done what the native nobles had done."

Numerous bands of Jacques destroyed.

Such was the annihilation of that great insurrection of the peasants of three provinces (Ile de France, Picardie, and Champagne), which a single victory had propagated throughout France: the Jacques were destroyed, the bourgeois democracy enfeebled and shaken, the nobility revived and heated by the blood spilled and by easy success. The result of the Jacquerie was to give an army to

Through the Jacquerie France gained a standing army.

the regent; the nobility, once aroused, kept under arms, and the regent was soon in a position to plant his camp in Paris.

[The English again invade and ravage France; but in 1360, the Peace of Bretigny gave liberty to the French King in return for ransom and cession of territory. In 1362, Pedro the Cruel, of Castile, lost his throne, and the Black Prince marched into Spain to restore him. In 1381, the English peasants rebelled under Wat Tyler. In 1387, all the Lithuanians, the last European pagans, were baptized.] A.D. 1360-1387.

COSMO DE' MEDICI

(A.D. 1389–1464)

WILLIAM ROSCOE

THE family of the Medici had for many ages been esteemed one of the most considerable in the republic; nor have there been wanting authors who have derived its eminence from the age of Charlemagne: but it must be remembered that these genealogies have been the production of subsequent times, when the elevation of this family to the supreme command in Florence made it necessary to impress on the minds of the people an idea of its antiquity and respectability. It appears, however, from authentic monuments, that many individuals of this family had signalized themselves on important occasions. Giovanni de' Medici, in the year 1351, with a body of only one hundred Florentines, forced his way through the Milanese army, then besieging the fortress of Scarperia, and entered the place with the loss of twenty lives.

Antiquity of the Medici family.

Salvestro de' Medici acquired great reputation by his temperate but firm resistance to the tyranny of the nobles, who, in order to secure

their power, accused those who opposed them of being attached to the party of the Ghibellines, then in great odium at Florence. The persons so accused were said to be admonished, *ammoniti,* and by that act were excluded from all offices of government. This custom was at length carried to such an extreme as to become insufferable. In the year 1379, Salvestro, being chosen chief magistrate, exerted his power in reforming this abuse; which was not, however, effected without a violent commotion, in which several of the nobility lost their lives. After the death of Salvestro, his son, Veri de' Medici, continued to hold a high rank in the republic, and, like the rest of this family, was always in great favor with the populace.

The person, however, who may be said to have laid the foundation of that greatness which his posterity enjoyed for several ages, was Giovanni de' Medici, the great grandfather of Lorenzo. By a strict attention to commerce, he acquired immense wealth; by his affability, moderation, and liberality, he ensured the confidence and esteem of his fellow-citizens. Without seeking after the offices of the republic, he was honored with them all. The maxims, which, uniformly pursued, raised the house of Medici to the splendor which it afterward enjoyed, are to be found in the charge given by this venerable old man on his deathbed to his two sons, Cosmo and Lo-

Giovanni de' Medici.

renzo: "I feel," said he, "that I have lived the time prescribed me. I die content; leaving you, my sons, in affluence and in health, and in such a station, that while you follow my example, you may live in your native place, honored and respected. Nothing affords me more pleasure than the reflection that my conduct has not given offence to any one; but that, on the contrary, I have endeavored to serve all persons to the best of my abilities. I advise you to do the same. With respect to the honors of the State, if you would live with security, accept only such as are bestowed on you by the laws, and the favor of your fellow-citizens; for it is the exercise of that power which is obtained by violence, and not of that which is voluntarily given, that occasions hatred and contention." He died in the year 1428, leaving two sons, Cosmo, born in the year 1389, and Lorenzo, in 1394, from the latter of whom is derived the collateral branch of the family, which in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century obtained the absolute sovereignty of Tuscany.

Giovanni's charge to his sons.

Even in the lifetime of his father, Cosmo had engaged himself deeply, not only in the extensive commerce by which the family had acquired its wealth, but in the weightier concerns of government. Such was his authority and reputation, that in the year 1414, when Balthasar Cossa, who had been elected Pope, and had assumed the name of John XXIII.,

Cosmo's reputation.

was summoned to attend the Council of Constance, he chose to be accompanied by Cosmo de' Medici, among other men of eminence whose characters might countenance his cause. By this council, which continued nearly four years, Balthasar was deprived of his pontifical dignity, and Otto Colonna, who took the name of Martin V., was elected Pope. Divested of his authority, and pursued by his numerous adversaries, Balthasar endeavored to save himself by flight. Cosmo did not desert in adversity the man to whom he had attached himself in prosperity. At the expense of a large sum of money he redeemed him from the hands of the Duke of Bavaria, who had seized upon his person; and afterward gave him a hospitable shelter at Florence during the remainder of his life. Nor did the successful Pontiff resent the kindness shown to his rival; on the contrary, he soon afterward paid a public visit to Florence, where, on the formal submission of Balthasar, and at the request of the Medici, he created him a cardinal, with the privilege of taking the first place in the Sacred College. The new-made Cardinal did not long survive this honor. He died in the year 1419, and it was supposed that the Medici at his death possessed themselves of immense riches, which he had acquired during his pontificate. This notion was afterward encouraged, for malevolent purposes, by those who well knew its falsehood. The true

Deposition of John XXIII

Source of the Medici wealth.

source of the wealth of the Medici was their superior talents and application to commerce. The property of the Cardinal was scarcely sufficient to discharge his legacies and his debts.

Cosmo's conduct.

After the death of Giovanni de' Medici, Cosmo supported and increased the family dignity. His conduct was uniformly marked by urbanity and kindness to the superior ranks of his fellow-citizens, and by a constant attention to the interest and the wants of the lower class, whom he relieved with unbounded generosity. By these means he acquired numerous and zealous partisans of every denomination; but he rather considered them as pledges for the continuance of the power he possessed, than as instruments to be employed in extending it to the ruin and subjugation of the State. "No family," says Voltaire, "ever obtained its power by so just a title."

Nature of the Medici authority.

The authority which Cosmo and his descendants exercised in Florence during the Fifteenth Century was of a very peculiar nature; and consisted rather in a tacit influence on their part, and a voluntary acquiescence on that of the people, than in any prescribed or definite compact between them. The form of government was ostensibly a republic, and was directed by a council of ten citizens, and a chief executive officer called the Gonfaloniere, or standard-bearer, who was chosen every two months. Under this establishment the citizens imagined they enjoyed the full exercise

of their liberties; but such was the power of the Medici, that they generally either assumed to themselves the first offices of the State, or nominated such persons as they thought proper to those employments. In this, however, they paid great respect to popular opinion. That opposition of interests so generally apparent between the people and their rulers, was at this time scarcely perceived at Florence, where superior qualifications and industry were the surest recommendations to public authority and favor. Convinced of the benefits constantly received from this family, and satisfied that they could at any time withdraw themselves from a connection that exacted no engagements, and required only a temporary acquiescence, the Florentines considered the Medici as the fathers, and not as the rulers, of the republic. On the other hand, the chiefs of this house, by appearing rather to decline than to court the honors bestowed on them, and by a singular moderation in the use of them when obtained, were careful to maintain the character of simple citizens of Florence, and servants of the State. An interchange of reciprocal good offices was the only tie by which the Florentines and the Medici were bound, and perhaps the long continuance of this connection may be attributed to the very circumstance of its having been in the power of either of the parties, at any time, to dissolve it.

Fathers, not rulers, of the Republic.

If, from considering the private character of Cosmo, we attend to his conduct as the moderator and director of the Florentine Republic, our admiration of his abilities will increase with the extent of the theatre upon which he had to act. So important were his mercantile concerns, that they often influenced, in a very remarkable degree, the politics of Italy. When Alfonso, King of Naples, leagued with the Venetians against Florence, Cosmo called in such immense debts from those places as deprived them of resources for carrying on the war. During the contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster, one of his agents in England was resorted to by Edward IV. for a sum of money, which was accordingly furnished, to such an extraordinary amount, that it might almost be considered as the means of supporting that monarch on the throne, and was repaid when his successes enabled him to fulfil his engagement. The alliance of Cosmo was sedulously courted by the princes of Italy; and it was remarked that, by a happy kind of fatality, whoever united their interest with his were always enabled either to repress or to overcome their adversaries. By his assistance the Republic of Venice resisted the united attacks of Filippo, Duke of Milan, and of the French nation, but when deprived of his support, the Venetians were no longer able to withstand their enemies. With whatever difficulties Cosmo had to encounter, at home or

Cosmo's great abilities.

His vast resources.

abroad, they generally terminated in the acquisition of additional honor to his country and to himself. The esteem and gratitude of his fellow-citizens were fully shown a short time before his death, when by a public decree he was honored with the title of *Pater Patriae,* an appellation which was inscribed on his tomb, and which, as it was founded on real merit, has ever since been attached to the name of Cosmo de' Medici.

Cosmo is called Pater Patriæ.

THE INVASION OF TAMERLANE

(A.D. 1397)

MAHUMMUD CASIM FERISHTA

AMIR TIMUR, being informed of the commotions and civil wars of Hindostan, began his expedition into that country, in the eight hundredth year of the Higerah, and on the twelfth of Mohirrim in the following year arrived on the banks of the Chule Jallali.* He immediately despatched Amir Shech Noor ul Dien to dispossess Shab ul Dien Mubarick, who had in charge the defence of the frontier districts. When Shech Noor ul Dien had arrived within a few miles of Shab ul Dien Mubarick, he summoned him to submit to Timur. But as the imperial general had previously retreated into a stronghold, on the bank of the river, round which he had drawn a ditch, forming the place into an island, he determined to defend himself to the last.

Tamerlane invades Hindostan, 1397.

Shech Noor ul Dien, however, found means, upon making his approaches, to fill up the ditch: but at night he suffered a considerable

* A river on the frontiers of Hindostan.

loss, by a violent sally of the besieged; whom, in the end, he repulsed, and forced to take shelter within their walls. Amir Timur himself advanced against the enemy with his whole army. Shab ul Dien, intimidated by the approach of Timur, stowed privately, in forty boats, his treasure and family, and fell down the river, being two days pursued in vain by Shech Noor ul Dien, who was detached with a party after him. The garrison, after the departure of their leader, immediately surrendered.

Tamerlane lays Tulmubini under contribution.

Amir Timur proceeded down the river to the conflux of the Jimboo and Chinab, where there was a strong fort and town, known by the name of Tulmubini. He ordered a bridge to be laid across, by which his army might pass. Having pitched his camp without the town, he laid it under a heavy contribution. But while the inhabitants were very busy in collecting the sum demanded, a complaint was made in the camp of the scarcity of provisions, and orders were issued to seize grain wherever it should be found. The soldiers upon this hastened to search the town, but not being content to take provisions alone, the natural consequence was that a general plunder ensued. The inhabitants, endeavoring to oppose this outrage, were massacred without mercy.

The inhabitants massacred.

To besiege the citadel would but retard the designs of Timur. He therefore marched, the next day after the massacre, to a town

called Shawnawaze, where he found more grain than was sufficient to serve his whole army. He therefore ordered that what could not be carried away should be burned, having previously cut off Jisserit, the brother of Shuha Giker, who had attempted to defend the place with two thousand men. Timur marched, on the third day, from Shawnawaze, and, crossing the Bea, came into a rich and plentiful country.

Shawnawaze pillaged.

It may not be improper here to say something concerning the proceedings of Mirza Pier Mahummud, after his having taken Moultan. The solstitial rains having destroyed a great part of his cavalry in the field, he was under the necessity of drawing his army into the city of Moultan. There he was driven to the utmost distress by the inhabitants of the country, who had closely invested him. His cavalry, instead of being able to act against them, diminished daily in their numbers, for want of forage.

Mirza Pier Mahummud is blockaded in Moultan.

In this untoward situation were the affairs of that Prince, when his grandfather, Amir Timur, entered Hindostan, who immediately reinforced Mahummud with a detachment of thirty thousand chosen horse, and soon joined him with his whole army. The Prince carried in his mind great animosity against the Governor of Battenize, who had chiefly distressed him. Amir Timur himself, to chastise the Governor, selected ten thousand horse, with

which he marched directly toward him. When he reached Adjodin, he was shown the tomb of Shech Ferid Shuckergunge, the poet, in respect to whose memory he spared the few inhabitants who remained in the place, the greater part having fled to Delhi and Battenize.

Timur continued then his march to Battenize, crossing the river of Adjodin, and encamping at Chaliskole, from which place, in one day, he marched fifty crores to Battenize. Upon his arrival, the people of Debalpoor and other adjacent towns crowded into the place in such numbers that half of them were driven out and obliged to take shelter under the walls. They were there attacked the first day by the King and some thousands of them slain.

Timur arrives at Battenize.

The garrison desired to capitulate, to which Timur agreed; and the Governor, having had an interview with the King, presented him with three hundred Arabian horses and with many of the valuable curiosities of Hindostan. Timur, in return, honored him with a chelat; and after the conditions were settled, sent Amir Soliman, Shah, and Omar Ulla to take possession of the gates, commanding them to slay all those who had taken refuge in the place and had before been active against his grandson, Mirza Pier Mahummud. The rest, after being plundered, were ordered to be dismissed.

The garrison capitulates.

In consequence of this inhuman order, five hundred persons in a few minutes were put to death. Those who remained still within the fort were so struck with this massacre that they set fire to the place, murdered their wives and children, and, in mere despair, sought after nothing but revenge and death. The scene now became terrible indeed! but the unfortunate inhabitants were, in the end, cut off to a man; they, however, revenged themselves amply upon the rapacious and inhuman authors of their distress, some thousands of the Moguls having fallen by their hands. This so much exasperated Amir Timur, that firebrand of the world, that he ordered every soul in Battenize to be massacred and to reduce the city itself to ashes.

Desolation by fire and sword.

Timur, marching to Surusti, put the inhabitants of that place, also, to the sword, and gave the town up to pillage. Advancing to Fatteabad, he continued the same scene of barbarity through that and the adjacent towns of Rahib, Amirani, and Jonah. He detached Hakîm Agherâck toward Sammana with five thousand horse, and with the few that remained he himself scoured the country and cut off a tribe of banditti called Jits, who had lived for some years by rapine. His army, in the meantime, being divided under different chiefs, carried fire and sword through all the provinces of Moultan and Lahore, but when they advanced near the capital, he ordered a general ren-

The Jits exterminated.

dezvous at Keitil, a town within five crores of Sammana.

Timur himself soon joined his army, and, having regulated the order of his march, advanced toward Delhi. When he reached Panniput, he ordered his soldiers to put on their fighting apparel;* and that he might be the better supplied with forage, crossed the Jumna, took the fort of Lowni by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. He then marched down along the river, and encamped opposite to the citadel of Delhi, posting guards to prevent all communication. He immediately detached Amir Soliman Shaw and Amir Jehan Shaw to scour the country behind him to the south and southeast of the city; while he himself that very day, with seven hundred horse only, crossed the river to reconnoitre the citadel.

Tamerlane arrives before Delhi.

Mahmood Shaw and Mullu Eckbal Chan, seeing so few in the retinue of Timur, issued forth with five thousand foot and twenty-seven elephants against him. Mahummud Sillif, an Omrah of repute in Delhi, who led the attack, was repulsed and taken prisoner by the Moguls. Timur ordered him to be immediately beheaded, and after having made the observations which he designed, repassed the river and joined the army.

He is attacked.

He next morning moved his camp more to the eastward, where he was told, by the princes

* Coats stuffed thick with cotton, worn instead of armor.

and generals of his army, that there were then above one hundred thousand prisoners in his camp, who had been taken since he crossed the Sind; that these unfortunate persons had, the day before, expressed great joy when they saw him attacked before the citadel; which rendered it extremely probable that, on a day of battle, they would join with their countrymen against him. The inhuman Timur, who might have found other means of prevention, gave orders to put all above the age of fifteen to the sword, so that, upon that horrid day, one hundred thousand men were massacred in cold blood. This barbarity, together with his other actions of equal cruelty, gained him the name of Hillâk Chan, or the Destroying Prince.

He massacres 100,000 prisoners in cold blood.

Tamerlane crosses the Jumna.

Upon the fifth of Jemmad ul Awil, Timur forded the river with his army without opposition and encamped on the plains of Firoseabad, where he intrenched himself, filling the ditch with buffaloes fronting the enemy, whom he fastened with ropes and pickets to their stations, placing, at the same time, strong guards, at proper distances, behind them.

Though the astrologers pronounced the seventh an unlucky day, the King marched out of his lines and drew up his army in order of battle. Sultan Mahmood and Mullu Eckbal Chan, with the army of Delhi and one hundred and twenty elephants in mail, advanced toward him. But upon the very first charge

of a squadron, called the Heroes of Chighitta, the elephant-drivers were dismounted, and the outrageous animals, deprived of their guides, ran roaring back and spread terror and confusion among their own ranks. The veteran troops of Timur, who had already conquered half the world, improved this advantage, and the degenerate Hindoos were, in a few minutes, totally routed, without making one brave effort for their country, lives and fortunes. The conqueror pursued them with great slaughter to the very gates of Delhi, near which he fixed his quarters.

Tamerlane gains a great victory.

The consternation of the fugitives was so great that, not trusting to their walls, Sultan Mahmood and Mullu Eckbal Chan deserted, in the night, their capital; the former flying to Guzerat, the latter taking the route of Berren. Timur, having intelligence of their flight, detached parties after them, one of which, coming up with Sultan Mahmood, killed a great number of his retinue, and took his two infant sons, Seif ul Dien and Choda Daad, prisoners. Timur received the submission of all the great men of the city, who crowded to his camp, and were promised protection upon paying great contributions; and, upon the Friday following, he ordered the Chutba in all the mosques to be read in his own name. Upon the sixteenth of the same month, he placed guards at the gates, and appointed the scriveners of the city and magistrates to regulate

The Sultan flees.

the contribution according to the wealth and rank of the inhabitants. Information was, in the meantime, lodged, that several omrahs and rich men had shut themselves up in their houses, with their dependants, and refused to pay down their share of the ransom. This obliged Timur Shaw to send troops into the city, to enforce the authority of the magistrates. A general confusion, uproar, and plundering immediately followed, which could not be restrained by the Mogul officers, who, at the same time, durst not acquaint the King that their authority was contemned by the troops.

Disorder and pillage.

Timur was then busy in his camp, in celebrating a grand festival on account of his victory, so that it was five days before he received any intelligence of these proceedings. The first notice he had of them was by the flames of the city; for the Hindoos, according to their manner, seeing their wives and daughters ravished and polluted, their wealth seized by the hand of rapine, and they themselves beat and abused, at length, by one consent, shut the city gates, set fire to their houses, murdered their wives and children, and ran out like madmen against their enemies.

But little effect had the despair of the unfortunate upon the Moguls, who soon collected themselves and began a general massacre. Some streets were rendered impassable by the heaps of dead; and, in the meantime, the gates

being forced, the whole Mogul army were admitted. Then followed a scene of horror, much easier to be imagined than described.

A general massacre.

The desperate courage of the unfortunate Delhians was at length cooled in their own blood. They threw down their weapons, they submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter. They permitted one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him; so that we may plainly perceive that cowardice is the mother of despair. In the city, the Hindoos were, at least, ten to one, superior in number to the enemy, and had they possessed souls it would have been impossible for the Moguls, who were scattered about in every street, house and corner, laden with plunder, to have resisted the dreadful assault. But though the Hindoos had the savage resolution of imbruing their hands in the blood of their wives and children, we find them still the slaves of fear, and shrinking at the approach of that death which they could so readily execute upon others.

The unparalleled misfortunes of the Delhians.

The King, after this horrid scene, entered the city, taking to himself one hundred and twenty elephants, twelve rhinoceroses, and a number of curious animals that had been collected by Firose Shaw. The fine mosque built by that Prince, upon the stones of which he had inscribed the history of his reign, being esteemed a masterpiece of architecture and taste, took so much the fancy of the conqueror

Tamerlane enters Delhi.

that he ordered stone-cutters and masons from Delhi to Samarcand to build one upon the same plan.

After having stayed fifteen days at Delhi, Timur took a sudden resolution of returning, and he accordingly marched out to Firoseabad, whither Bahadre Nahir sent him two white parrots, as curiosities from Mewat, with professions of subjection. Timur continued his march to the skirts of the mountains of Sewalic, marking his way with fire and sword. Crossing then the Ganges, he subdued the country as high as where the river issues from the mountains; returning from thence, he repassed the river and marched through the hills.

The conqueror marches to the head of the Ganges.

We do not find that Timur appointed any king to govern Hindostan, which he had in a great measure subdued. He, however, confirmed the subas, who had submitted to him in their governments; and, from this circumstance, we may suppose that he intended to retain the Empire in his own name; though he left no troops behind him except a small detachment in Delhi, to secure it from further depredations.

[The Council of Pisa (1409) deposes both Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.; and, as neither will give way, elects Alexander V. Thus there are three rival Popes.]

COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE AND THE HUSSITE WAR

(A.D. 1414—1437)

SUTHERLAND MENZIES

THE death of Rupert seemed to favor the partisans of Wenceslaus; but the partisans of his house preferred the choice of his brother, Sigismund, King of Hungary. At Frankfort, Sigismund was illegally elected by two only of the seven; while five, who assembled later, gave their suffrages in favor of the Margrave of Moravia, cousin-german of Wenceslaus and Sigismund. Thus Germany had three kings of the Romans, two of whom were resolved to defend their rights with the sword. But the horrors of civil war were averted by the death of the Margrave, whose partisans, combining with those of Sigismund, proceeded to a new election; and Sigismund was unanimously recognized King of the Romans, Wenceslaus himself renouncing his own rights in favor of his brother.

Sigismund, King of Hungary (1410-1437).

Sigismund had given at his election an example of his arrogant character. "There is no prince in the Empire," said he, "with whose

Sigismund's character.

merits I am so fully acquainted as with my own. I am surpassed by none—either in power or in the prudence with which I have ruled, whether in prosperity or adversity. Therefore do I, as Elector of Brandenburg, give my vote to Sigismund, King of Hungary, and will that he be elected King of Germany." Sigismund's character was a combination of the characteristics of his immediate predecessors. Like Charles IV., he was crafty and politic, but resembled Wenceslaus in his love of sensual gratifications. Handsome, eloquent, and lively, he had no steadiness of person, seeming to act on the impulse of the moment, and with a view to present expediency rather than on any settled plan. The first object of his attention was the schism in the Church, there being a Pope in Italy, another in France, and a third in Spain, and each of them launched anathemas against his adversaries and the countries subjected to him. Sigismund, in furtherance of his favorite design, acted at first with sound policy and discretion; he summoned a General Council to meet at Constance, and in order to give its members the character of representatives of all Europe, he proclaimed that not merely the clergy, but distinguished laymen from different countries should assist at its deliberations, the Emperor himself waiving the right of supremacy which the Romano-Germanic Empire had hitherto assumed over other kingdoms, although its

He summons a council.

pretensions were little more than a name. But all these fair plans were ruined by his own want of self-control. During the sitting of the Council, Sigismund gave himself up entirely to low debauchery; and the only effect of his condescension was to make himself the laughing-stock of the Church, and give foreign nations encouragement to encroach still further on the privileges of the Empire.

The place fixed upon for this important assembly of the spiritual and temporal powers of Catholic Europe, in compliance with the wishes of the Emperor, but not in accordance with the interests of the Pope, John XXIII., was Constance in Switzerland; and the day appointed for the meeting was the 1st of November, 1414. The assemblage of ecclesiastics, and also of laymen, on this occasion was immense. The Council was divided into four national sections, of Italy, France, Germany, and England, and the votes were taken according to this division, instead of being registered according to the opinions of individual members of the body. Both the Emperor and John were present. The professed objects of this famous Council were the extinction of the schism, and the reformation of the Church, or the correction of those manifold abuses which existed in the management of ecclesiastical revenues. Here it was determined, after some debate, that a General Council could compel the Pope to abdicate, and the method

The Council of Constance, 1414.

of cession was, moreover, declared to be the only means of securing the peace of the Church. Accordingly, on the 2d of March, 1415, John publicly pronounced his abdication, on condition of a similar proceeding on the part of Benedict and Gregory. Suspicions, however, having been manifested by the Council with regard to the sincerity of the Pontiff in these transactions, the latter planned his escape from Constance, and fled first to Schaffhausen, afterward to Brissac, and at length to Fribourg, where he expected to receive the protection of the Duke of Austria, but was treacherously delivered into the power of the Emperor and the Council. A series of enormous crimes being now laid to his charge, John was solemnly deposed from the Pontificate (May 29, 1415), and condemned to rigorous imprisonment, which he suffered, first at Heidelberg and afterward at Mannheim, for the period of three years. In the course of the same year Gregory sent to the Council a voluntary and solemn resignation of his dignity. Benedict, however, remained inflexible, declaring that he was the true and now the only Pope. Sigismund went in person to Perpignan with a view to obtain his resignation; but Benedict obstinately resisted all solicitations, and ultimately withdrew, for the security of his person, to the small fortress of Paniscola. The Council, fully convinced of his contumacy, proceeded

John XXIII announces his abdication.

Gregory XII. abdicates.

to the sentence of deposition; and although Benedict continued to anathematize his adversaries daily in his obscure place of refuge, he had ceased to be a means of dividing the obedience of the Church. The claims of the late competitors having been thus entirely destroyed, the Cardinals proceeded to the election of a new Pope, and agreed in the choice of Otto de Colonna, a Roman, who ascended the Papal Chair under the name of Martin V. And thus the primary object of the Council, the healing of the Great Schism, which had long been productive of such numerous disorders, was successfully accomplished. Gregory XII. died soon after his cession. John XXIII., restored to liberty about three years after his deposition, was solicited by some of his friends to resume the Papal dignity, but instead of complying with their advice, he voluntarily threw himself at the feet of Martin, who received his submission. And thus the Great Western Schism was completely at an end.

Martin V. is elected.

End of the Great Schism.

The spiritual business of the Council of Constance was no less important than its temporal. John Huss, a disciple of Wickliff, and professor in the new university of Prague, founded by Charles IV., was tried for heresy, in opposing the hierarchy, and satirizing the immoralities of the popes and bishops. He did not deny the charge; and, refusing to confess his errors, was burned alive, though he

John Huss and Jerome of Prague, 1416.

had a safe-conduct from the Emperor to appear at the Council. But the principle on which the Council acted was not concealed: it was indeed openly avowed that, in certain cases, faith was not to be kept with heretics. A similar fate was the portion of his friend and disciple, Jerome of Prague, who displayed at his execution the eloquence of an apostle, and the constancy of a martyr. Sigismund felt the consequences of these horrible proceedings; for the Bohemians, justly exasperated at the treacherous execution of their countrymen, opposed his succession to their crown, vacant by the death of his deceased brother Wenceslaus, and it cost him a war of sixteen years to attain it.

Grave consequences for Sigismund.

Whatever was the imperial power at this time, it derived but small consequence from its actual revenues. The wealth of the Germanic states was exclusively possessed by their separate sovereigns, and the Emperor had little more than what he drew from Bohemia and Hungary. The sovereignty of Italy was an empty title. The interest of the Emperor in that country furnished only a source of faction to its princes, and embroiled the states in perpetual quarrels.

War of the Hussites.

The execution of Huss, with all its circumstances of cruelty and falsehood, had been regarded by the Bohemians as a national insult, which called aloud for signal and adequate retribution. When the ashes of the martyr

were thrown into the Rhine, the rulers of the Church believed that his name had perished with his body. But the people thought far otherwise. James Hussinitz, a nobleman residing in the village where Huss was born, determined to avenge his death, and to maintain his doctrines. Wenceslaus, finding himself wholly unable to resist the storm of popular indignation, withdrew from Prague, which soon fell entirely into the hands of the malcontents. Under the command of the leaders of the new doctrines, they proceeded to yet more violent extremities. To revenge some slight offence which had been offered to them in one of their religious processions, they burst into the council chamber at Prague, and, seizing thirteen of the principal magistrates, flung them from the windows upon the pikes of their associates. The intelligence of this outrage roused Wenceslaus to so violent a paroxysm of fury, that it occasioned an apoplectic fit which put an end to his existence.

Death of Wenceslaus, 1418.

The accession of Sigismund, who, notwithstanding a letter addressed to the Bohemians in vindication of his conduct, was universally considered as the cause of Huss's execution, and a promulgation of a decree of the Council of Constance containing a most unqualified denunciation of their sect, wrought the passions of the Hussites to a yet higher state of exasperation. They refused to recognize Sig-

ismund as King, whereupon the Hussite civil war broke out. They were divided into two parties, the more moderate Calixtines and the more rigid Taborites. Ziska, the leader of the latter party, a man of extraordinary powers, assembled them on Mount Tabor, captured Prague, pillaged and burned the monasteries, and in several engagements defeated Sigismund. After the death of Ziska (1424), his place was filled by a monk named Procopius, who defeated the mercenaries sent under the name of Crusaders by the Emperor and the Papal legates in the battles of Mies (1427) and Tachau (1431), and whose troops ravaged Austria, Franconia, Saxony, Catholic Bohemia, Lusatia, and Silesia. A council held at Bâsle, in 1433, made concessions which were accepted by the Calixtines. The Taborites, rejecting the compromise, were vanquished in the battle of Prague (1434), and by the treaty of Iglau (1436), the compromise of Bâsle was accepted by Bohemia, and Sigismund recognized as King.

Sigismund suffers several defeats.

The Council of Basle.

The Emperor, having committed to the Council of Bâsle the task of carrying on negotiations, had withdrawn to Rome on pretext of being crowned by the new Pope, Eugenius IV. The council, led by the spiritual and temporal lords, who were fully aware of the importance of the cause at stake, shared the Emperor's opinion, and were, consequently, far more inclined to make concession than was the

Pope, who refused to yield to any terms, preferring to throw the onus of the peace on others. The Council therefore acted without reference to the Pontiff, who in the meantime amused himself with solemnizing a farcical coronation of the Emperor at Rome. Sigismund remained, during the sitting of the Council, in Italy, engaged in love affairs, although already sixty-three years of age. After openly procrastinating the ceremony, the Pope at length gave full vent to his displeasure (1433) by causing the crown to be placed awry on Sigismund's head by another ecclesiastic, and then pushing it straight with his foot as the Emperor knelt before him.

Coronation of Sigismund.

After long and tedious conferences the Council conceded to the Bohemian laity the use of the cup in the communion, and Sigismund on his side agreed that the Hussite priests should be tolerated, even at court; that no more monasteries should be built; that the University of Prague should be reinstated in all its former privileges; and a general amnesty granted for all past disturbances. Thus peace was concluded in 1437. Bohemia, however, remained still in a feverish state until about a century after, when the reform of Luther revived old feelings and antipathies, of which the Thirty Years' War that, another century later, desolated all Germany, may be said to have been the remote consequence. There are a few Hussites now in Bohemia;

Close of the Council of Constance, 1437.

the rest have merged into Calvinists, Lutherans, Moravians, and other sects.

[Henry V. of England claims the crown of France and resolves on the conquest of that realm (1414).]

BATTLE OF AGINCOURT

(A.D. 1415)

DAVID HUME

THE successes which the arms of England have, in different ages, obtained over those of France, have been much owing to the favorable situation of the former kingdom. The English, happily seated in an island, could make advantage of every misfortune which attended their neighbors, and were little exposed to the danger of reprisals. They never left their own country but when they were conducted by a king of extraordinary genius, or found their enemy divided by intestine factions, or were supported by a powerful alliance on the Continent; and as all these circumstances concurred at present to favor their enterprise, they had reason to expect from it proportionable success. The Duke of Burgundy, expelled France by a combination of the princes, had been secretly soliciting the alliance of England: and Henry knew that this Prince, though he scrupled at first to join the inveterate enemy of his country, would willingly, if he saw any

England's advantages

Invasion of France.

probability of success, both assist him with his Flemish subjects, and draw over to the same side all his numerous partisans in France. Trusting therefore to this circumstance, but without establishing any concert with the Duke, he put to sea August 14th, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of 6,000 men-at-arms, and 24,000 foot, mostly archers. He immediately began the siege of that place, which was valiantly defended by D'Estoüteville, and under him by De Guitri, De Gaucourt, and others of the French nobility; but as the garrison was weak, and the fortifications in bad repair, the governor was at last obliged to capitulate; and he promised to surrender the place, if he received no succor before the eighteenth of September. The day came, and there was no appearance of a French army to relieve him.

Capture of Harfleur.

Henry, taking possession of the town, placed a garrison in it, and expelled all the French inhabitants, with an intention of peopling it anew with English.

The fatigues of this siege, and the unusual heat of the season, had so wasted the English army, that Henry could enter on no further enterprise; and was obliged to think of returning into England. He had dismissed his transports, which could not anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coasts: and he lay under a necessity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of safety. A nu-

merous French army of 14,000 men-at-arms, and 40,000 foot, was by this time assembled in Normandy, under the Constable d'Albert; a force which, if prudently conducted, was sufficient either to trample down the English in the open field, or to harass and reduce to nothing their small army, before they could finish so long and difficult a march. Henry, therefore, cautiously offered to sacrifice his conquest of Harfleur for a safe passage to Calais; but his proposals being rejected, he determined to make his way by valor and conduct through all the opposition of the enemy. That he might not discourage his army by the appearance of flight, or expose them to those hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made slow and deliberate journeys till he reached the Somme, which he purposed to pass at the ford of Blanquetague, the same place where Edward, in a like situation, had before escaped from Philip de Valois. But he found the ford rendered impassable by the precaution of the French general, and guarded by a strong body on the opposite bank; and he was obliged to march higher up the river, in order to seek for a safe passage. He was continually harassed on his march by flying parties of the enemy; saw bodies of troops on the other side, ready to oppose every attempt; his provisions were cut off; his soldiers languished with sickness and fatigue: and his affairs seemed to be reduced to a des-

A French army assembles in Normandy.

Henry's mild terms are rejected

perate situation: when he was so dexterous or so fortunate as to seize by surprise a passage near St. Quintin, which had not been sufficiently guarded; and he safely carried over his army.

He crosses the Somme.

Henry then bent his march northward to Calais; but he was still exposed to great and imminent danger from the enemy, who had also passed the Somme, and threw themselves full in his way, with a purpose of intercepting his retreat. After he had passed the small river of Ternois at Blangi, he was surprised to observe from the heights the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Agincourt, and so posted that it was impossible for him to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement. Nothing in appearance could be more unequal than the battle, upon which his safety and all his fortunes now depended. The English army was little more than half the number which had disembarked at Harfleur; and they labored under every discouragement and necessity. The enemy was four times more numerous; was headed by the Dauphin and all the princes of the blood; and was plentifully supplied with provisions of every kind. Henry's situation was exactly similar to that of Edward at Crecy, and that of the Black Prince at Poictiers; and the memory of these great events, inspiring the English with courage, made them hope for a like deliverance from their present difficul-

Overwhelming force of the French.

ties. The King likewise observed the same prudent conduct which had been followed by these great commanders: he drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank; and he patiently expected in that posture the attack of the enemy.

Had the French Constable been able, either to reason justly upon the present circumstances of the two armies, or to profit by past experience, he had declined a combat, and had waited till necessity, obliging the English to advance, had made them relinquish the advantages of their situation. But the impetuous valor of the nobility, and a vain confidence in superior numbers, brought on this fatal action, which proved the source of infinite calamities to their country. The French archers on horseback and their men-at-arms, crowded in their ranks, advanced upon the English archers, who had fixed palisadoes in their front to break the impression of the enemy, and who safely plied them, from behind that defence, with a shower of arrows which nothing could resist. The clay soil, moistened by some rain which had lately fallen, proved another obstacle to the force of the French cavalry: the wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks: the narrow compass in which they were pent hindered them from recovering any order: the whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and dismay: and

Battle of Agincourt.

Henry, perceiving his advantage, ordered the English archers, who were light and unincumbered, to advance upon the enemy, and seize the moment of victory. They fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who, in their present posture, were incapable either of flying or of making defence: they hewed them in pieces without resistance: and being seconded by the men-at-arms, who also pushed on against the enemy, they covered the field with the killed, wounded, dismounted, and overthrown. After all appearance of opposition was over, the English had leisure to make prisoners; and having advanced with uninterrupted success to the open plain, they there saw the remains of the French rearguard, which still maintained the appearance of a line of battle. At the same time, they heard an alarm from behind: some gentlemen of Picardy, having collected about 600 peasants, had fallen upon the English baggage, and were doing execution on the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. Henry, seeing the enemy on all sides of him, began to entertain apprehensions from his prisoners; and he thought it necessary to issue general orders for putting them to death: but on discovering the truth, he stopped the slaughter, and was still able to save a great number.

Great slaughter by the archers.

The prisoners slain.

No battle was ever more fatal to France, by the number of princes and nobility slain

or taken prisoners. Among the former were the Constable himself, the Count of Nevers and the Duke of Brabant, brothers to the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Vaudemont, brother to the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Alençon, the Duke of Barre, the Count of Marle. The most eminent prisoners were the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Counts d'Eu, Vendome, and Richemont, and the Marechal of Boucicaut. An Archbishop of Sens also was slain in this battle. The killed are computed, on the whole, to have amounted to ten thousand men; and as the slaughter fell chiefly upon the cavalry, it is pretended that of these eight thousand were gentlemen. Henry was master of 14,000 prisoners. The person of chief note who fell among the English was the Duke of York, who perished fighting by the King's side, and had an end more honorable than his life. He was succeeded in his honors and fortune by his nephew, son of the Earl of Cambridge, executed in the beginning of the year. All the English who were slain exceeded not forty; though some writers, with great probability, make the number more considerable.

The French losses.

The three great battles of Crecy, Poictiers and Agincourt bear a singular resemblance to each other, in their most considerable circumstances. In all of them there appears the same temerity in the English princes, who, without any object of moment, merely for the

Crecy, Poictiers and Agincourt.

sake of plunder, had ventured so far into the enemy's country as to leave themselves no retreat; and unless saved by the utmost imprudence in the French commanders, were, from their very situation, exposed to inevitable destruction. But allowance being made for this temerity, which, according to the irregular plans of war followed in those ages, seems to have been, in some measure, unavoidable; there appear, in the day of action, the same presence of mind, dexterity, courage, firmness and precaution on the part of the English; the same precipitation, confusion and vain-confidence on the part of the French: and the events were such as might have been expected from such opposite conduct. The immediate consequences, too, of these three great victories were similar: instead of pushing the French with vigor, and taking advantage of their consternation, the English princes after their victory seem rather to have relaxed their efforts, and to have allowed the enemy leisure to recover from his losses. Henry interrupted not his march a moment after the battle of Agincourt; he carried his prisoners to Calais, thence to England; he even concluded a truce with the enemy; and it was not till after an interval of two years that any body of English troops appeared in France.

Immediate consequences trifling.

The poverty of all the European princes, and the small resources of their kingdoms, were the cause of these continual interrup-

tions in their hostilities; and though the maxims of war were in general destructive, their military operations were mere incursions, which, without any settled plan, they carried on against each other. The lustre, however, attending the victory of Agincourt, procured some supplies from the English parliament, though still unequal to the expenses of a campaign. They granted Henry an entire fifteenth of movables; and they conferred on him, *for life,* the duties of tonnage and poundage, and the subsidies on the exportation of wool and leather. This concession is more considerable than that which had been granted to Richard II. by his last Parliament, and which was afterward, on his deposition, made so great an article of charge against him.

Parliament's grants to Henry.

[This is the Golden Age of the Free Companies, Italy particularly being their El Dorado. Sir John Hawkwood (1307-1393) was regarded by Florence as one of her saviors. A famous battle in these wars was that of St. Egidio in 1416, when Carlo Malatesta and 3,000 Free Companions were captured by Forte Braccio. Henry V. conquers Normandy (1417-1419). The French Dauphin assassinates the Duke of Burgundy (1419), the most powerful noble in France; and his successor enters into alliance with the English. The Treaty of Noyes (1420) makes Henry practically king and actually ruler of

France. On his death, 1422, his son, Henry VI. of England, is proclaimed King of France also. The English Regent, Bedford, defeats the Dauphin's followers at Crevant, 1422, and Verneuil, 1429; and the English lay siege to Orleans in 1429.]

JOAN OF ARC AT ORLEANS

(A.D. 1429)

E. S. CREASY

SELDOM has the extinction of a nation's independence appeared more inevitable than was the case in France when the English invaders completed their lines around Orleans. A series of dreadful defeats had thinned the chivalry of France, and daunted the spirits of her soldiers. A foreign king had been proclaimed in her capital; and foreign armies of the bravest veterans, and led by the ablest captains then known in the world, occupied the fairest portions of her territory. Worse to her, even, than the fierceness and the strength of her foes, were the factions, the vices and the crimes of her own children. Her native prince was a dissolute trifler, stained with assassination of the most powerful noble in the land, whose son, in revenge, had leagued himself with the enemy. Many more of her nobility, many of her prelates, her magistrates, and rulers, had sworn fealty to the English King. The condition of the peasantry amid the general prevalence of anarchy and brigandage, which were added to the custom-

Wretched condition of France.

ary devastations of contending armies, was wretched beyond the power of language to describe. The sense of terror and wretchedness seemed to have extended itself even to the brute creation.

English conquests.

In the autumn of 1428, the English, who were already masters of all France north of the Loire, prepared their forces for the conquest of the southern provinces, which yet adhered to the cause of the Dauphin. The city of Orleans, on the banks of that river, was looked upon as the last stronghold of the French national party. If the English could once obtain possession of it their victorious progress through the residue of the kingdom seemed free from any serious obstacle. Accordingly the Earl of Salisbury, one of the bravest and most experienced of the English generals, who had been trained under Henry V., marched to the attack of the all-important city; and after reducing several places of inferior consequence in the neighborhood, appeared with his army before its walls on the 12th of October, 1428.

Salisbury attacks Orleans.

The city of Orleans itself was on the north side of the Loire, but its suburbs extended far on the southern side, and a strong bridge connected them with the town. A fortification, which in modern military phrase would be termed a tête-du-pont, defended the bridge head on the southern side, and two towers, called the Tourelles, were built on the bridge

itself, at a little distance from the tête-du-pont. Indeed, the solid masonry of the bridge terminated at the Tourelles; and the communication thence with the tête-du-pont and the southern shore was by means of a drawbridge. The Tourelles and the tête-du-pont formed together a strong, fortified post, capable of containing a garrison of considerable strength; and so long as this was in possession of the Orleannais, they could communicate freely with the southern provinces, the inhabitants of which, like the Orleannais themselves, supported the cause of their Dauphin against the foreigners. Lord Salisbury rightly judged the capture of the Tourelles to be the most material step toward the reduction of the city itself. Accordingly, he directed his principal operations against this post, and after some severe repulses, he carried the Tourelles by storm on the 23d of October. The French, however, broke down the arches of the bridge that were nearest to the north bank, and thus rendered a direct assault from the Tourelles upon the city impossible. But the possession of this post enabled the English to distress the town greatly by a battery of cannon which they planted there, and which commanded some of the principal streets.

Fortifications of Orleans.

The Tourelles carried.

Six strongly fortified posts, called bastilles, were formed at certain intervals round the town, and the purpose of the English engineers was to draw strong lines between them.

During the winter little progress was made with the intrenchments, but when the spring of 1429 came, the English resumed their work with activity; the communications between the city and the country became more difficult, and the approach of want began already to be felt in Orleans.

Orleans offers to surrender.

The Orleannais now, in their distress, offered to surrender the city into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, who, though the ally of the English, was yet one of their native princes. The Regent Bedford refused these terms, and the speedy submission of the city to the English seemed inevitable. The Dauphin Charles, who was now at Chinon with his remnant of a court, despaired of continuing any longer the struggle for his crown, and was only prevented from abandoning the country by the more masculine spirits of his mistress and his queen.

In the village of Domrémy, on the borders of Lorraine, there was a poor peasant of the name of Jacques d'Arc, respected in his station of life, and who had reared a family in virtuous habits and in the practice of the strictest devotion. His eldest daughter was named by her parents Jeannette, but she was called Jeanne by the French, which was Latinized into Johanna and Anglicized into Joan.

Joan of Arc.

At the time when Joan first attracted attention, she was about eighteen years of age. She was naturally of a susceptible disposition,

which diligent attention to the legends of saints and tales of fairies, aided by the dreamy loneliness of her life while tending her father's flocks, had made peculiarly prone to enthusiastic fervor. At the same time, she was eminent for piety and purity of soul, and for her compassionate gentleness to the sick and the distressed.

From infancy to girlhood Joan had heard continually of the woes of the war, and had herself witnessed some of the wretchedness that it caused. A feeling of intense patriotism grew in her with her growth. The deliverance of France from the English was the subject of her reveries by day and her dreams by night. Blended with these aspirations were recollections of the miraculous interpositions of Heaven in favor of the oppressed, which she had learned from the legends of her Church. Her faith was undoubting; her prayers were fervent. "She feared no danger, for she felt no sin," and at length she believed herself to have received the supernatural inspiration which she sought.

Her dreams and aspirations.

"At the age of thirteen, a voice from God came to her to help her in ruling herself, and that voice came to her about the hour of noon, in summer time, while she was in her father's garden. And she had fasted the day before. And she heard the voice on her right, in the direction of the church; and when she heard the voice, she saw also a bright light." After-

Her visions.

ward St. Michael, and St. Margaret, and St. Catharine appeared to her. They were always in a halo of glory; she could see that their heads were crowned with jewels; and she heard their voices, which were sweet and mild. She did not distinguish their arms or limbs. She heard them more frequently than saw them; and the usual time when she heard them was when the church bells were sounding for prayer. And if she was in the woods when she heard them, she could plainly distinguish their voices drawing near to her. When she thought that she discerned the Heavenly Voices, she knelt down, and bowed herself to the ground. Their presence gladdened her even to tears; and after they departed, she wept because they had not taken her back to Paradise. They always spoke soothingly to her. They told her that France would be saved, and that she was to save it. Joan's heart was sorely troubled at the thought of the fate of Orleans; and her Voices now ordered her to leave her home; and warned her that she was the instrument chosen by Heaven for driving away the English from that city, and for taking the Dauphin to be anointed. One of her uncles consented to take her to Vaucouleurs, where De Baudricourt at first thought her mad, and derided her, but by degrees he was led to believe, if not in her inspiration, at least in her enthusiasm, and in its possible utility to the Dauphin's cause.

The Heavenly Voices.

The fame of "The Maid," as she was termed, the renown of her holiness, and of her mission, spread far and wide. Baudricourt sent her with an escort to Chinon, where the Dauphin Charles was dallying away his time. Her Voices had bidden her assume the arms and the apparel of a knight; and the wealthiest inhabitants of Vaucouleurs had vied with each other in equipping her with war-horse, armor, and sword. On reaching Chinon, she was, after some delay, admitted into the presence of the Dauphin. Charles designedly dressed himself far less richly than many of his courtiers were apparelled, and mingled with them, when Joan was introduced, in order to see if the Holy Maid would address her exhortations to the wrong person. But she instantly singled him out, and the report soon spread abroad that the Holy Maid had found the King by a miracle; and this, with many other similar rumors, augmented the renown and influence that she now rapidly acquired.

Joan seeks the Dauphin

She recognizes the King.

Thus all things favored the influence which Joan obtained both over friends and foes. The French nation, as well as the English and the Burgundians, readily admitted that superhuman beings inspired her; the only question was whether these beings were good or evil angels. The Dauphin at first feared the injury that might be done to his cause if he laid himself open to the charge of having leagued himself with a sorceress. Every imaginable test,

therefore, was resorted to in order to set Joan's orthodoxy and purity beyond suspicion. At last Charles and his advisers felt safe in accepting her services as those of a true and virtuous Christian daughter of the Holy Church.

Charles accepts her services.

While Charles and his doctors of theology, and court ladies, had been deliberating as to recognizing or dismissing the Maid, a considerable period had passed away, during which a small army, the last gleanings, as it seemed, of the English sword, had been assembled at Blois, under Dunois, La Hire, Xaintrailles, and other chiefs, who to their natural valor were now beginning to unite the wisdom that is taught by misfortune. It was resolved to send Joan with this force and a convoy of provisions to Orleans. The distress of that city had now become urgent. But the communication with the open country was not entirely cut off. The Orleannais had heard of the Holy Maid whom Providence had raised up for their deliverance, and their messengers earnestly implored the Dauphin to send her to them without delay.

Orleans begs her aid.

Joan marched from Blois on the 25th of April with a convoy of provisions for Orleans, accompanied by Dunois, La Hire, and the other chief captains of the French, and on the evening of the 28th they approached the town. In the words of the old chronicler Hall: "The Englishmen, perceiving that thei within could

not long continue for faute of vitaile and pouder, kepte not their watche so diligently as thei were accustomed, nor scoured now the countrey environed as thei before had ordained. Whiche negligence the citizens shut in perceiving, sent worde thereof to the French captaines, which with Pucelle, in the dedde tyme of the nighte, and in a great rayne and thundere, with all their vitaile and artillery, entered into the citie."

She enters the city.

When it was day, the Maid rode in solemn procession through the city, clad in complete armor, and mounted on a white horse. Dunois was by her side, and all the bravest knights of her army and of the garrison followed in her train. The whole population thronged around her; and men, women and children strove to touch her garments, or her banner, or her charger. They poured forth blessings on her, whom they already considered their deliverer.

Enthusiasm of the populace.

When it was known by the English that the Maid was in Orleans, their minds were not less occupied about her than were the minds of those in the city; but it was in a very different spirit. The English believed in her supernatural mission as firmly as the French did, but they thought her a sorceress who had come to overthrow them by her enchantments. She had sent a herald to the English generals before she marched for Orleans, and he had summoned the English generals in the name

of the Most High to give up to the Maid, who was sent by Heaven, the keys of the French cities which they had wrongfully taken. On her arrival in Orleans, Joan sent another similar message; but the English scoffed at her from their towers, and threatened to burn her heralds. She determined, before she shed the blood of the besiegers, to repeat the warning with her own voice; and accordingly she mounted one of the boulevards of the town, which was within hearing of the Tourelles, and thence she spoke to the English, and bade them depart, otherwise they would meet with shame and woe. Sir William Gladsdale (whom the French call Glacidas) commanded the English post at the Tourelles, and he and another English officer replied by bidding her go home and keep her cows, and by ribald jests, that brought tears of shame and indignation into her eyes. But, though the English leaders vaunted aloud, the effect produced on their army by Joan's presence in Orleans was proved four days after her arrival, when, on the approach of reinforcements and stores to the town, Joan and La Hire marched out to meet them, and escorted the long train of provision wagons safely into Orleans, between the bastilles of the English, who cowered behind their walls instead of charging fiercely and fearlessly, as had been their wont, on any French band that dared to show itself within reach.

Joan personally summons the English.

She is treated with contumely.

Reinforcements and stores arrive.

Thus far she had prevailed without striking a blow; but the time was now come to test her courage amid the horrors of actual slaughter. On the afternoon of the day on which she had escorted the reinforcements into the city, while she was resting fatigued at home, Dunois had seized an advantageous opportunity of attacking the English bastille of St. Loup, and a fierce assault of the Orleannais had been made on it, which the English garrison of the fort stubbornly resisted. Joan was roused by a sound which she believed to be that of her Heavenly Voices; she called for her arms and horse, and quickly equipping herself, she mounted to ride off to where the fight was raging. She rode out of the gate, and met the tide of her countrymen, who had been repulsed from the English fort, and were flying back to Orleans in confusion. At the sight of the Holy Maid and her banner they rallied, and renewed the assault. Joan rode forward at their head, waving her banner and cheering them on. The English quailed at what they believed to be the charge of hell; Saint Loup was stormed, and its defenders put to the sword, except some few, whom Joan succeeded in saving.

The Voices call to battle.

Joan's first success.

The next day was Ascension Day, and it was passed by Joan in prayer. But on the following morrow it was resolved by the chiefs of the garrison to attack the English forts on the south of the river. For this purpose they

Joan is wounded.

crossed the river in boats, and after some severe fighting, in which the Maid was wounded in the heel, both the English bastilles of the Augustins and Saint Jean de Blanc were captured. The Tourelles were now the only post which the besiegers held on the south of the river. But that post was formidably strong, and by its command of the bridge, it was the key to the deliverance of Orleans. It was known that a fresh English army was approaching under Fastolfe to reinforce the besiegers, and should that army arrive while the Tourelles were yet in the possession of their comrades, there was great peril of all the advantages which the French had gained being nullified, and of the siege being again actively carried on.

Peril of the besieged.

It was resolved, therefore, by the French, to assail the Tourelles at once, while the enthusiasm which the presence and the heroic valor of the Maid had created was at its height. But the enterprise was difficult. The rampart of the tête-du-pont, or landward bulwark, of the Tourelles was steep and high, and Sir John Gladsdale occupied this all-important fort with five hundred archers and men-at-arms, who were the very flower of the English army.

Early in the morning of the seventh of May, some thousands of the best French troops in Orleans heard mass and attended the confessional by Joan's orders, and then crossing the

river in boats, as on the preceding day, they assailed the bulwark of the Tourelles "with light hearts and heavy hands." But Gladsdale's men, encouraged by their bold and skilful leader, made a resolute and able defence. The Maid planted her banner on the edge of the fosse, and then springing down into the ditch, she placed the first ladder against the wall and began to mount. An English archer sent an arrow at her, which pierced her corselet, and wounded her severely between the neck and shoulder. She fell bleeding from the ladder; and the English were leaping down from the wall to capture her, but her followers bore her off. She was carried to the rear, and laid upon the grass; her armor was taken off, and the anguish of her wound and the sight of her blood made her at first tremble and weep. But her confidence in her celestial mission soon returned; her patron saints seemed to stand before her, and reassure her. She sat up and drew the arrow out with her own hands. Some of the soldiers who stood by wished to stanch the blood by saying a charm over the wound; but she forbade them, saying that she did not wish to be cured by unhallowed means. She had the wound dressed with a little oil, and then bidding her confessor come to her, she betook herself to prayer.

The Tourelles assailed.

Joan's fortitude.

In the meanwhile, the English in the bulwark of the Tourelles had repulsed the oft-

renewed efforts of the French to scale the wall. Dunois, who commanded the assailants, was at last discouraged, and gave orders for a retreat to be sounded. Joan sent for him and the other generals, and implored them not to despair. "By my God," she said to them, "you shall soon enter in there. Do not doubt it. When you see my banner wave again up to the wall, to your arms again! for the fort is yours. For the present, rest a little, and take some food and drink." "They did so," says the old chronicler of the siege, "for they obey her marvellously." The faintness caused by the wound had now passed off, and she headed the French in another rush against the bulwark. The English, who had thought her slain, were alarmed at her reappearance, while the French pressed furiously and fanatically forward. A Biscayan soldier was carrying Jean's banner. She had told the troops that directly the banner touched the wall, they should enter. The Biscayan waved the banner from the edge of the fosse, and touched the wall with it; and then all the French host swarmed madly up the ladders that now were raised in all directions against the English fort.

She encourages her followers.

The assault.

At this crisis, the efforts of the English garrison were distracted by an attack from another quarter. The French troops who had been left in Orleans had placed some planks over the broken arch of the bridge, and ad-

vanced across them to the assault of the Tourelles on the northern side. Gladsdale resolved to withdraw his men from the landward bulwark, and concentrate his whole force in the Tourelles themselves. He was passing for this purpose across the drawbridge that connected the Tourelles and the tête-du-pont, when Joan, who by this time had scaled the wall of the bulwark, called out to him, "Surrender! surrender to the King of Heaven! Ah, Glacidas, you have foully wronged me with your words, but I have great pity on your soul, and the souls of your men." The Englishman, disdainful of her summons, was striding on across the drawbridge, when a cannon shot from the town carried it away, and Gladsdale perished in the water that ran beneath. After his fall, the remnant of the English abandoned all further resistance. Three hundred of them had been killed in the battle, and two hundred were made prisoners.

Death of Gladsdale.

The broken arch was speedily repaired by the exulting Orleannais, and Joan made her triumphal re-entry into the city by the bridge that had so long been closed. Every church in Orleans rang out its gratulating peal: and throughout the night the sounds of rejoicing echoed, and bonfires blazed up from the city. But in the lines and forts which the besiegers yet retained on the northern shore, there was anxious watching of the generals, and there

Rejoicing in Orleans.

was desponding gloom among the soldiery. Even Talbot now counselled retreat. On the following morning the Orleannais, from their walls, saw the great forts called "London" and "St. Lawrence" in flames, and witnessed their invaders busy in destroying the stores and munitions which had been relied on for the destruction of Orleans. Slowly and sullenly the English army retired; and not before it had drawn up in battle array opposite to the city, as if to challenge the garrison to an encounter. The French troops were eager to go out and attack, but Joan forbade it. The day was Sunday. "In the name of God," she said, "let them depart, and let us return thanks to God." She led the soldiers and citizens forth from Orleans, but not for the shedding of blood. They passed in solemn procession round the city walls, and then, while their retiring enemies were yet in sight, they knelt in thanksgiving to God for the deliverance which he had vouchsafed them.

Retreat of the English.

Within three months of the time of her first interview with the Dauphin, Joan had fulfilled the first part of her promise, the raising of the siege of Orleans. Within three months more she had fulfilled the second part also, and had stood with her banner in her hand by the high altar at Rheims, while he was anointed and crowned as King Charles VII. of France. In the interval she had taken Jargeau, Troyes, and other strong places, and she

Charles VII is crowned in Rheims.

had defeated an English army in a fair field at Patay.

When Charles had been anointed King of France, Joan believed that her mission was accomplished. And, in truth, the deliverance of France from the English, though not completed for many years afterward, was then ensured. With a strong tide of national feeling in his favor, with victorious generals and soldiers round him, and a dispirited and divided enemy before him, Charles could not fail to conquer, though his own imprudence and misconduct, and the stubborn valor which the English still from time to time displayed, prolonged the war in France until the civil war of the Roses broke out in England, and left France to peace and repose.

France has peace and repose.

[The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges establishes the liberties of the Gallican Church (1438). The establishment of the companies of archers (1444), the first national standing army, and a permanent tax for their support, powerfully aid the oppression of the French monarchs. In 1440, the Florentines gain a victory over the Milanese at the battle of Anghiari, known also as the "Fight for the Standard." The Republic of Milan is re-established (1447); extinction of the Visconti. The English are finally expelled from France in 1452.]

First national standing army.

THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

(A.D. 1453)

EDWARD GIBBON

OF the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople, the two sides along the sea were made inaccessible to an enemy: the Propontis by nature, and the harbor by art. Between the two waters, the base of the triangle, the land side, was protected by a double wall and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Against this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eyewitness, prolongs to the measure of six miles, the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the Emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the first days of the siege, the Greek soldiers descended into the ditch, or sallied into the field; but they soon discovered that, in the proportion of their numbers, one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks; and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. Nor should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The na-

Defences of the city.

tion was indeed pusillanimous and base; but the last Constantine deserves the name of a hero; his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honor of the Western chivalry. The incessant volleys of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, the sound, and the fire of their musketry and cannon. Their small-arms discharged at the same time either five or even ten balls of lead of the size of a walnut; and, according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, several breast-plates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot. But the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches or covered with ruins. Each day added to the science of the Christians; but their inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful either in size or number; and, if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, lest the aged structure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion. The same destructive secret had been revealed to the Moslems; by whom it was employed with the superior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet was an important and visible object in the history of the times; but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude; the long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed

Heroism of the Emperor.

Superiority of the Turkish artillery.

against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places; and of one of these it is ambiguously expressed that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it discharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the power and activity of the Sultan, we may discern the infancy of the new science. Under a master who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one day. The heated metal unfortunately burst; several workmen were destroyed; and the skill of an artist was admired, who bethought himself of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

Bursting of the big gun.

The first random shots were productive of more sound than effect; and it was by the advice of a Christian that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm and to build a road to the assault. Innumerable fascines and hogsheads and trunks of trees were heaped on each other; and such was the impetuosity of the throng that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice and instantly

Attack and defence.

buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the besiegers; to clear away the rubbish was the safety of the besieged; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines; but the soil was rocky; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers; nor had the art been yet invented of replenishing whole subterraneous passages with gunpowder and blowing whole towers and cities into the air. A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople is the reunion of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the same walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and inextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers; this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls' hides; incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a staircase to the upper platform, and, as high as the level of that platform, a scaling ladder could be raised by pulleys to form a bridge and

Mines and counter-mines.

Greek fire.

grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance, some as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned; after a severe struggle, the Turks were repulsed from the breach and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigor and decisive success. Of this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the Emperor, and Justiniani, who passed the night on the spot, and urged the labors which involved the safety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impatient Sultan perceived, with astonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes; the ditch was cleared and restored; and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his design; and uttered a profane exclamation that the word of the thirty-seven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe that such a work, in so short a time, should have been accomplished by the infidels.

Fall of the Tower of St. Romanus.

The damage quickly repaired.

The generosity of the Christian princes was cold and tardy; but, in the first apprehension of a siege, Constantine had negotiated, in the isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indispensable supplies. As early as the beginning of April, five great ships, equipped for merchandise and war, would

Five ships bring supplies.

have sailed from the harbor of Chios, had not the wind blown obstinately from the north. One of these ships bore the Imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoese; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with soldiers and mariners, for the service of the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and, on the second day, a strong gale from the south, carried them through the Hellespont and the Propontis; but the city was already invested by sea and land; and the Turkish fleet, at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shore, in the form of a crescent, to intercept, or at least to repel, these bold auxiliaries. The reader who has present to his mind the geographical picture of Constantinople will conceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued to advance with joyful shouts, and a full press both of sails and oars, against a hostile fleet of three hundred vessels; and the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succor. At the first view, that event could not appear doubtful: the superiority of the Moslems was beyond all measure or account; and, in a calm, their numbers and valor must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by

The Turkish fleet.

the will of the Sultan. In the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged that, if God had given them the earth, he had left the sea to the infidels; and a series of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen galleys of some force, the rest of their fleet consisted of open boats, rudely constructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops and destitute of cannon; and, since courage arises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian squadron, five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practiced in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was directed to sink or scatter the weak obstacles that impeded their passage; their artillery swept the waters; their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adversaries who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators. In this conflict, the Imperial vessel, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese; but the Turks, in a distant and closer attack, were twice repulsed with considerable loss. Mahomet himself sat on horseback on the beach, to encourage their valor by his voice and presence, by the promise of reward, and by fear

Mohammedan naval defeats.

Mahomet's fruitless efforts.

more potent than the fear of the enemy. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body, seemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into the sea. His loud reproaches, and the clamors of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I must repeat, though I can not credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms, from their own mouth, that they lost about twelve thousand men in the slaughter of the day. They fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and Asia, while the Christian squadron, triumphant and unhurt, steered along the Bosphorus and securely anchored within the chain of the harbor. In the confidence of victory, they boasted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to their arms; but the admiral, or captain-bashaw, found some consolation for a painful wound in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes; his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and, under the despotism of the prince or people, misfortune is a sufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and services were annihilated by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence, the captain-bashaw was extended on the ground by four slaves, and received one hun-

Triumph of the Christians.

Punishment of the Turkish admiral.

dred strokes with a golden rod; his death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the Sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their Western allies. Amid the deserts of Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crusaders had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the Imperial City was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman Empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople; the more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Huniades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the Sultan.

Indifference of Christendom.

It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the secret of the divan; yet the Greeks are persuaded that a resistance, so obstinate and surprising, had fatigued the perseverance of Mahomet. He began to meditate a retreat, and the siege would have been speedily raised, if the ambition and jealousy of the second vizir had not opposed the perfidious advice of Calil Bashaw, who still maintained a secret

Mahomet meditates retreat.

correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made from the harbor as well as from the land; but the harbor was inaccessible: an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller size, with several galleys and sloops; and, instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval sally and a second encounter in the open sea. In this perplexity, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbor. The distance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets; and, as the road must be opened behind the suburb of Galata, their free passage or total destruction must depend on the option of the Genoese. But these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favor of being the last devoured; and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and solid planks; and to render them more slippery and smooth, they were anointed with the fat of sheep and oxen. Fourscore light galleys and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars were disembarked on the Bosphorus shore; arranged successively on rollers; and drawn forward by the power of men and pul-

Mahomet's genius.

He transports his fleet overland.

leys. Two guides or pilots were stationed at the helm and the prow of each vessel; the sails were unfurled to the winds; and the labor was cheered by song and acclamation. In the course of a single night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbor, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation and confidence which it inspired; but the notorious, unquestionable fact was displayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens, of the two nations. A similar stratagem had been repeatedly practiced by the ancients; the Ottoman galleys (I must again repeat) should be considered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the distance, the obstacles and the means, the boasted miracle has perhaps been equalled by the industry of our own times. As soon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbor with a fleet and army, he constructed, in the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth and one hundred in length; it was formed of casks and hogsheads, joined with rafters linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourscore galleys, with troops and scaling-ladders, approached the most accessible side,

Consternation of the besieged.

Mahomet constructs a mole.

which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Christians has been accused for not destroying these unfinished works; but their fire, by a superior fire, was controlled and silenced; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the vessels as well as the bridge of the Sultan. His vigilance prevented their approach; their foremost galliots were sunk or taken; forty youths, the bravest of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly massacred at his command; nor could the Emperor's grief be assuaged by the just though cruel retaliation of exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and sixty Mussulman captives. After a siege of forty days, the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack; the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon; many breaches were opened; and near the gate of Saint Romanus four towers had been levelled with the ground. For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Constantine was compelled to despoil the churches, with the promise of a fourfold restitution; and his sacrilege offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. A spirit of discord impaired the remnant of the Christian strength; the Genoese and Venetian auxiliaries asserted the pre-eminence of their respective service; and Justiniani and the

Distress of the city.

Desertion of the Genoese and Venetians.

Great Duke, whose ambition was not extinguished by the common danger, accused each other of treachery and cowardice.

During the siege of Constantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been sometimes pronounced; and several embassies had passed between the camp and the city. The Greek Emperor was humbled by adversity; and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish Sultan was desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers; still more desirous of securing for his own use the Byzantine treasures; and he accomplished a sacred duty in presenting to the Gabours the choice of circumcision, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mahomet might have been satisfied with an annual sum of one hundred thousand ducats; but his ambition grasped the capital of the East; to the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration or a safe departure; but, after some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne or a grave under the walls of Constantinople. A sense of honor and the fear of universal reproach forbade Paleologus to resign the city into the hands of the Ottomans; and he determined to abide the last extremities of war. Several days were employed by the Sultan in the preparations of the assault; and a respite was granted by his favorite science of astrology, which had fixed

Terms of capitulation

Preparations for the assault.

on the 29th of May as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the 27th, he issued his final orders; assembled in his presence the military chiefs; and dispersed his heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty and the motives of the perilous enterprise. Fear is the first principle of a despotic government; and his menaces were expressed in the Oriental style, that the fugitives and deserters, had they the wings of a bird, should not escape from his inexorable justice. The greatest part of his bashaws and Janizaries were the offspring of Christian parents; but the glories of the Turkish name were perpetuated by successive adoption; and, in the gradual change of individuals, the spirit of a legion, a regiment, or an *oda* is kept alive by imitation and discipline. In this holy warfare, the Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with seven absolutions; and to abstain from food till the close of the ensuing day. A crowd of dervishes visited the tents, to instil the desire of martyrdom, and the assurance of spending an immortal youth amid the rivers and gardens of paradise and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally trusted to the efficacy of temporal and visible rewards. A double pay was promised to the victorious troops. "The city and the buildings," said Mahomet, "are mine; but I resign to your valor the captives and the spoil, the treasures

Final orders.

Mahomet's promises of reward.

of gold and beauty; be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces of my empire: the intrepid soldier who first ascends the walls of Constantinople shall be rewarded with the government of the fairest and most wealthy; and my gratitude shall accumulate his honors and fortunes above the measure of his own hopes." Such various and potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardor, regardless of life and impatient for action; the camp re-echoed with the Moslem shouts of "God is God, there is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God"; and the sea and land, from Galata to the seven towers, were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.

Ardor of the Turks.

Far different was the state of the Christians; who, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment, of their sins. The celestial image of the Virgin had been exposed in solemn procession: but their divine patroness was deaf to their entreaties: they accused the obstinacy of the Emperor for refusing a timely surrender; anticipated the horrors of their fate; and sighed for the repose and security of Turkish servitude. The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Paleologus was the funeral oration of the Roman Empire: he promised, he conjured, and he vainly

Depression of the Christians.

Speech of the Emperor.

attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the Gospel nor the Church have proposed any conspicuous recompense to the heroes who fall in the service of their country. But the example of their prince and the confinement of a siege had armed these warriors with the courage of despair; and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The Emperor, and some faithful companions, entered the dome of Saint Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosque; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reposed some moments in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations; solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured; and mounted on horseback to visit the guards and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars.

The courage of despair.

The glory of the last Constantine.

In the confusion of darkness an assailant may sometimes succeed; but, in this great and general attack, the military judgment and as-

trological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian era. The preceding night had been strenuously employed: the troops, the cannon, and the fascines were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which, in many parts, presented a smooth and level passage to the breach; and his fourscore galleys almost touched, with their prows and their scaling-ladders, the less defensible walls of the harbor. Under pain of death, silence was enjoined; but the physical laws of motion and sound are not obedient to discipline or fear; each individual might suppress his voice and measure his footsteps; but the march and labor of thousands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of dissonant clamors, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At daybreak, without the customary signal of the morning-gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack. The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd, who fought without order or command; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onward to the wall; the most audacious to climb were

The general assault.

Character of the vanguard.

instantly precipitated; and not a dart, not a bullet of the Christians was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence: the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain; they supported the footsteps of their companions: and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successively led to the charge: their progress was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained and improved their advantage: and the voice of the Emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The Sultan himself, on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valor; he was surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the decisive occasion; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish; and, if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death was in the rear of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs; and experience has proved that the me-

The Janizaries.

chanical operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honor. From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman Empire.

John Justiniani's conduct.

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet or arrow which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsel were the firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his flight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable Emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Paleologus, "is slight; the danger is pressing; your presence is necessary; and whither will you retire?" "I will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by the same road which God has opened to the Turks;" and at these words he hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this pusillanimous act, he stained the honors of a military life; and the few days which he survived in Galata, off the Isle of Chios, were imbittered by his own and the public reproach. His example was imitated by the greater part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to

His example imitated

slacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigor. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps a hundred, times superior to that of the Christians; the double walls were reduced by the cannon to a heap of ruins; in a circuit of several miles, some places must be found more easy of access or more feebly guarded; and, if the besiegers could penetrate in a single point, the whole city was irrecoverably lost. The first who deserved the Sultan's reward was Hassan, the Janizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his cimeter in one hand, and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification; of the thirty Janizaries who were emulous of his valor, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the summit; the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible; the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage-ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amid these multitudes, the Emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen, and finally lost. The nobles who fought round his person sustained, till their last breath, the honorable names of Paleologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Can not

Rout of the Greeks.

there be found a Christian to cut off my head?" and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple; amid the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. After his death resistance and order were no more; the Greeks fled toward the city; and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of Saint Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and, as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the side of the harbor. In the first heat of the pursuit, about two thousand Christians were put to the sword; but avarice soon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged that they should have immediately given quarter, if the valor of the Emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins; her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors.

Death of the Emperor Constantine Paleologus.

Massacre and pillage.

INVENTION OF PRINTING

(A.D. 1454)

J. H. HESSELS

THE art of printing, *i.e.*, of impressing (by means of certain forms and colors) figures, pictures, letters, words, lines, whole pages, etc., on other objects, as also the art of engraving, which is inseparably connected with printing, existed long before the Fifteenth Century. Not to go back to remoter essays, there is reason to suppose that medieval kings and princes (among others William the Conqueror) had their monograms cut on blocks of wood or metal in order to impress them on their charters. Such impressions from stamps are found instead of seals on charters of the Fifteenth Century. Manuscripts of the Twelfth Century show initials which, on account of their uniformity, are believed to have been impressed by means of stamps or dies. But the idea of multiplying representations from one engraved plate or block or other form was unknown to the ancients, whereas it is predominant in that we call the art of block-printing, and especially

First attempts at printing.

in that of typography, in which the same types can be used again and again.

East Asian printing.

Block-printing and printing with movable types seem to have been practiced in China and Japan long before they were known in Europe. It is said that in the year 175 the text of the Chinese classics was cut upon tablets, which were erected outside the university, and that impressions were taken of them, some of which are said to be still in existence. Printing from wooden blocks can be traced as far back as the Sixth Century, when the founder of the Suy dynasty is said to have had the remains of the classical books engraved on wood, though it was not until the Tenth Century that printed books became common. In Japan, the earliest example of block-printing dates from the period 764-770, when the Empress Shiyau-toku, in pursuance of a vow, had a million small wooden toy pagodas made for distribution among the Buddhist temples and monasteries, each of which was to contain a dhâranî out of the Buddhist Scriptures, entitled, "Vimala nirbhasa Sûtra," printed on a slip of paper about eighteen inches in length and two in width, which was rolled up and deposited in the body of the pagoda under the spire. In a journal of the period, under the year 987, the expression "printed-book" (*surihoñ*) is found applied to a copy of the Buddhist canon brought back from China by a Buddhist priest. This, of course, must have

Early block printing in Japan.

been a Chinese edition; but the use of the term implies that printed books were already known in Japan. It is said that the Chinese printed with movable types (of clay) from the middle of the Eleventh Century. The authorities of the British Museum exhibit as the earliest instance of Corean books printed with movable types a work printed in 1337. To the Corean is attributed the invention of copper types in the beginning of the Fifteenth Century; and an inspection of books bearing dates of that period seems to show that they used such types, even if they did not invent them.

Movable types in China.

From such evidence as we have it would seem that Europe is not indebted to the Chinese or Japanese for the art of block-printing, nor for that of printing with movable types.

In Europe, as late as the second half of the Fourteenth Century, every book (including school and prayer-books), and every public and private document, proclamation, bull, letter, etc., was written by hand; all figures and pictures, even playing-cards and images of saints, were drawn with the pen or painted with a brush. In the Thirteenth Century there already existed a kind of book-trade. The organization of universities, as well as that of large ecclesiastical establishments, was at that time incomplete, especially in Italy, France, and Germany, without a staff of

MS. period.

Scribes and transcribers.

scribes and transcribers (*scriptores*), illuminators, lenders, sellers, and custodians of books (*stationarii librorum, librarii*), and *pergamenarii, i.e.,* persons who prepared and sold the vellum or parchment required for books and documents. The books supplied were, for the most part, legal, theological, and educational, and are calculated to have amounted to above one hundred different works.

As no book or document could gain approval unless it had some ornamented and illuminated initials or capital letters, there was no want of illuminators. The workmen scribes and transcribers were, perhaps without exception, caligraphers, and the illuminators for the most part artists. Beautifully written and richly illuminated manuscripts on vellum became objects of luxury which were eagerly bought and treasured up by princes and people of distinction. Burgundy of the Fifteenth Century, with its rich literature, its wealthy towns, its love for art, and its rich school of painting, was in this respect the centre of Europe, and the libraries of its dukes at Brussels, Bruges, Antwerp, Ghent, etc., contained more than three thousand beautifully illuminated manuscripts.

Burgundy the European centre

In speaking of the writing of the manuscripts of the Fifteenth and two preceding centuries, it is essential to distinguish in each country between at least four different classes

Classes of writing.

of writing, and two of these must again be subdivided each into two classes. All these different kinds of writing were, in the first instance, taken as models for cutting such portions of text as were intended to illustrate and explain the figures in block books, and afterward as models for the types used in the printing of books and documents.

When all this writing, transcribing, illuminating, etc., had reached their period of greatest development, the art of printing from wooden blocks (block-printing, xylography) on silk, cloth, etc., vellum and paper made its appearance in Europe. It seems to have been practiced, so far as we have evidence, on cloth, etc., and vellum as early as the Twelfth Century, and on paper as far back as the second half of the Fourteenth Century, while it was largely employed in the early part of the Fifteenth in the production of (1) separate leaves (called *briefs,* from *breve,* scriptum), containing either a picture (*print, prent,* shortened from the French *emprint, empreinte*, and already used by Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales,* 6186, six-text D. 604 *printe, prente, preente,* and in other early English documents; also called in colloquial German *Helge, Helglein,* or *Halge*) or a piece of text, or both together; and of (2) whole block books, sometimes consisting of half picture and half text, or wholly of text, or altogether of picture. It is, however, certain that about 1400 xylography was

Xylography.

known all over Germany, Flanders, and Holland.

When we, for the moment, leave out of sight the question as to when, where, and by whom the art of printing with movable metal types was invented, and take our stand on well-authenticated dates in such printed documents as have been preserved to us, we find that the first printed date, 1454, occurs in two different editions of the same letters of indulgence issued in that year by Pope Nicholas V. in behalf of the kingdom of Cyprus. These two different editions are usually regarded as having been printed at Mainz; and, so long as there is no evidence to the contrary, we may assume that such was really the fact. But we must at the same time conclude that about November, 1454, there were at least two rival printers at work there.

The earliest dated book is 1454.

Till the moment (say 1477) that printing spread to almost all the chief towns of Germany, Italy, Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, Spain, England, not a single printer carried away with him a set of types or a set of punches or molds from the master who had taught him, but, in setting up his printing-office, each man cast a set of types for his own use, always imitating as closely as possible the handwriting of some particular manuscript which he or his patron desired to publish. Another most important feature in the earliest books is that the printers imitated, not

The spread of printing.

only the handwriting, with all its contractions, combined letters, etc., but all the other peculiarities of the manuscripts they copied. There is, in the first place, the unevenness of the lines, which very often serves as a guide to the approximate date of a book, especially when we deal with the works of the same printer, since each commenced with uneven lines, and gradually made them less uneven, and finally even. The practice among early printers of imitating and reproducing manuscripts was not abandoned till many years after the first printed book (1454) made its appearance; and, looking at the books printed, say from 1454 to 1477, from our present standpoint of daily improvement and alteration, the printing of that period may be said to have been almost wholly stagnant, without any improvement or modification. If some printers (for instance, Sweynheym and Pannarts at Subiaco and Rome, and Nicholas Jensen at Venice) produced handsomer books than others, this is to be attributed to the beauty of the manuscripts imitated and the paper used rather than to any superior skill. Generally speaking, therefore, we shall not be very far wrong in saying that the workmanship of Ketelaer and De Leempt's first book, published at Utrecht, *c.* 1473, and that of Caxton's first book, issued at Westminster in 1477, exhibit the very same stage of the art of printing as the 1454 indulgences. If, therefore,

Reproduction of MSS.

No pre-eminence among early printers.

any evidence were found that Ketelaer and De Leempt and Caxton had really printed their first books in 1454, there would be nothing in the workmanship of these books to prevent us from placing them in that year.

Improvements in Holland.

Though the *Cologne Chronicle* of 1499 denies to Mainz the honor of the invention of the art of printing, it was right in asserting that after it had been brought there from Holland, it became much more masterly and exact, and more and more artistic. During the first half century of printing a good many printers distinguished themselves by the beauty, excellence, and literary value of their productions. We may mention as such: Johan Fust and Peter Schoeffer at Mainz; Johan Mentelin and Heinrich Eggestein at Strasburg; Ulrich Zell at Cologne; Sweynheym and Pannarts at Subiaco and at Rome; Nicholas Jensen at Venice; Anton Koberger at Nuremberg; Ketelaer and De Leempt at Utrecht; Johan Veldener at Louvain, Utrecht, and Knilenburg; Gerard Leeu at Gonda, Johan of Westphalia at Louvain; and William Caxton at Westminster.

Very soon the demand for books increased, and with it came a reduction in their prices. This caused a decline in the execution of printing, which begins to be appreciable about 1480 in some localities, and may be said to have become general toward the end of the Fifteenth Century. At all times, however,

we find some printers raise their art to a great height by the beauty of their types and the literary excellence of their productions.

Johannes Gutenberg, who lived about 1400-1468, is generally accorded the honor of being the inventor of printing. From 1450 to 1455 Gutenberg was associated with Johannes Fust during which period they printed the famous forty-two line Bible.

[The Wars of the Roses begin in England between the Yorkists and Lancastrians; battles of Saint Albans (1455), Northampton and Wakefield (1460), Towton (1461), and Hexham (1464), Barnet and Tewksbury (1471). Mohammed II. besieges Belgrade and is defeated by Huniades; but he conquers Athens and all the Greek States (1456). The Council of Ten depose Foscari, Doge of Venice, who immediately dies (1457) Matthias of Hungary wrests Bosnia from the Turks; he abolishes the old Magyar war system and forms a standing army of infantry,—the Black Guard (1464). The Genoese lose the Crimea and their trade in the Levant to the Venetians (1473). Ivan of Russia marries Sophia, the niece of the last Greek Emperor (1472); hence arises the Russian claim to the Greek Empire.]

Mohammed II. conquers the Greek States.

NANCY.—DEATH OF CHARLES THE BOLD

(A.D. 1476–1477)

JULES MICHELET

THE Duke fled to Morges, twelve leagues distant, without saying a word; thence repaired to Gex, where the steward of the Duke of Savoy lodged him, and got him to attend to his personal wants.

The States of Franche-Comte assemble.

He assembled at Salins the States of Franche-Comté, where he spoke haughtily, with that indomitable courage of his, of his resources, of his projects, and of the future Kingdom of Burgundy. He was about to collect an army of forty thousand men, to tax his subjects to the extent of a quarter of their possessions. . . . The States groaned to hear him, and represented to him that the country was ruined; all they could offer him was three thousand men, and that solely for the defence of the country.

"Well, then," exclaimed the Duke, "you will soon have to give the enemy more than you refuse your Prince. I shall repair to Flanders and take up my abode there, where I have more faithful subjects."

He said the same to the Burgundians and the Flemings, and with no more success. The state of Dijon did not fear, declaring that the war was useless, and that the people were not to be trampled down on account of a wrongful quarrel, which could come to no good end. Flanders was sterner still, and replied that if he were surrounded by the Swiss and Germans, and had not troops sufficient to disengage himself, he had only to send them word, and the Flemings would repair to his rescue.

Burgundy and Flanders refuse to be taxed.

On hearing this he burst into a paroxysm of fury, swearing that the rebels should pay dearly for their insolence, and that he would shortly level their walls and gates with the dust. But reaction came when he felt his solitary position, and he sunk into deep dejection. Referred by the Flemings to the French, and by the French to the Flemings, what was left him?

The Duke's rage.

As to the Duke himself, I incline to believe that the idea of a great empire, and of harmonizing into one orderly whole the chaos of provinces of which he claimed to be master, excused in his eyes the unjust means which a man of noble nature, and such he was, might have felt prick his conscience. This, perchance, is the reason that he did not own to himself that he was guilty, and recur to the true remedy pointed out by the sage Comines: —To turn to God, and confess one's fault.

The unfortunate man had time to revolve

all this for the two months that he remained near Joux, in a gloomy castle of the Jura. He formed a camp to which no one came, hardly a few recruits. But what did come, coursing each other's heels, was bad news;—this ally had gone over, that servant disobeyed orders, now a town of Lorraine had surrendered, and next day, another. As these reports were brought in he said nothing. He saw no one, but shut himself up.

Isolated position of the Duke.

Chagrin would most likely have driven him mad, had not the very excess of his chagrin and wrath roused him. From every quarter he heard of men acting as if he were already dead. The King, who had hitherto displayed such precaution in his dealings with him, had the Duchess of Savoy carried off from his territories, from his castle of Rouvre, and was exhorting the Swiss to invade Burgundy, offering to take charge of Flanders himself, while he supplied Réné, who was gradually recovering Lorraine, with money. Now Lorraine lay nearest of all to the Duke's heart; it was the link which united all his provinces, and the natural centre of the Burgundian Empire, of which he was said to have designed to make Nancy the capital.

Rene takes Nancy.

Thither he set out, as soon as he had got a small band together, and again arrived too late (22d of October), three days after Réné had retaken Nancy; retaken it, but not provisioned, so that the chance was that before

Réné could raise money, take Swiss into his pay, and form an army, Nancy would be wrested from him. The Pope's legate was intriguing with the Swiss in favor of the Duke of Burgundy, and balanced the French King's credit with them.

The Pope's legate favors the Duke.

All Réné could at first obtain was that the confederates should send an embassy to the Duke to ascertain his intentions; though it was little worth while to send, since every one knew beforehand that his final determination would be—nothing without Lorraine and the Landgraviate of Alsace.

Rene solicits aid from the Swiss.

Happily, Réné had a powerful, active, irresistible intercessor with the Swiss—the King. After the battle of Morat, the leaders of the Swiss had managed to be sent as ambassadors to Plessis-les-Tours, where these brave men found their Capua, since their good friend, the King, by flattery, presents, friendship, and confidence, bound them with such sweet chains, that they did all he wished, resigned their conquests in Savoy, and gave up everything for an inconsiderable sum. The troops, victorious in the late brilliant campaign, discovered that they would be dismissed to the tedium of their mountain life unless they declared for Réné; in which case the King guaranteed them their pay. The war, it was true, would take them from home, the service was a hireling one; they were about to begin their sad history as mercenary soldiers.

The Swiss become mercenary soldiers.

There was need for despatch. Nancy was suffering severely. Réné canvassed Switzerland, solicited, pressed, and got no other answer than that he might possibly have succor in the spring. The deacons of the trades, butchers, tanners, rough folk, but full of heart (and great friends of the King), cried shame on their towns for not aiding him who had aided them so well in the great battle. They pointed to the poor young Prince in their streets, who went about wandering, weeping like a mendicant . . . a tame bear which followed him delighted the populace by flattering and courting, after its fashion, the bear of Berne, and he was at last allowed, without the cantons being pledged by the step, to levy some troops. The permission was, in fact, obtaining everything, since the instant it was made publicly known that there were four florins a month to be gained, so many presented themselves that it was found necessary to range them under the respective banners of the cantons, and to limit their number, or all would have left.

The Swiss promise aid.

The difficulty was to make this long march, in the heart of winter, along with ten thousand Germans, often drunk, who obeyed no one.

The winter, this year, was terrible, a Moscow winter; and the Duke experienced (in little) the disasters of the famous retreat. Four hundred men were frozen to death on Christmas night alone; and many lost their hands

Severity of the winter.

or feet. The horses burst; and the few left were sick and weakly. Yet how make up his mind to raise the siege, when a day might place the city in his hands; when a Gascon deserter had brought word that the garrison had eaten all the horses, and were subsisting on dogs and cats?

The city was the Duke's, if he could maintain a strict blockade, and prevent any one from entering it. A few gentlemen having contrived to throw themselves in, he flew into a violent rage, and had one of them who was taken, hanged; maintaining (according to the Spanish code), that "the moment a prince has set down before a place, whoever passes his lines merits death." This poor gentleman, when at the gibbet, declared that he had an important disclosure to make to the Duke, a secret which affected his personal safety. The Duke charged his factotum, Campobasso, to learn what he wanted; now what he wanted was, to reveal all Campobasso's treasons: the latter had him executed at once.

Cruelty of the Duke.

Réné, what with Lorrainers and Frenchmen, had collected an army of nearly twenty thousand men, and he had been apprised by Campobasso that the Duke had not five thousand fit for service. The Burgundians settled among themselves that he ought to be warned of the small force on which he could depend; but none durst address him. He was almost always shut up in his tent, reading, or pretend-

The two armies.

ing to read. The Lord of Chimai, who took the risk upon himself, and forced his way in, found him lying dressed, on a bed, and could extract but one word from him: "If needs be, I will fight alone." The King of Portugal, who went to see him, left without obtaining more.

He was addressed as if he were a living man, but he was dead. Franche-Comté opened negotiations independently of him; Flanders detained his daughter as a hostage; Holland, on a report being spread of his death, drove out his tax-gatherers (end of December). The fatal time had come. The best that was left for him to do, if he would not go and ask his subjects' pardon, was to seek death in the assault, or to endeavor, with the small but long-tried band still devoted to him, to cut his way through Réné's overpowering forces. He had artillery, which Réné had not, or at least to a very limited extent. His followers were few, but they were truly his, lords and gentlemen, full of honor, ancient retainers, resigned to perish with him.

Charles's extremity.

On the Saturday evening he tried a last assault, which was repulsed by the starving garrison of Nancy, strengthened as they were by hope, and by seeing already on the towers of Saint Nicolas the joyous signals of deliverance. On the next day, through a heavy fall of snow, the Duke silently quitted his camp, and hastened to meet the enemy, thinking to bar the

His assault is repulsed.

passage with his artillery. He had not much hope himself; and as he was putting on his helmet, the crest fell to the ground: "Hoc est signum Dei," he said, and mounted his large black war-horse.

An evil omen.

The Burgundians soon came to a rivulet swollen by the melted snow, which they had to ford, and then, frozen as they were, to take up a position and await the Swiss. The latter, full of hope, and supported by a hearty meal of hot soup, largely watered with wine, arrived from Saint Nicolas. Shortly before the rencounter, "a Swiss quickly donned a stole," showed his countrymen the Host, and assured them that whatever might be the result, they were all saved. So numerous and dense were their masses, that while opposing a front to the Burgundians and occupying their attention at every point, they easily detached a body from the rear to turn their flank as at Morat, and to take possession of the heights which commanded them. One of the victors himself confesses that the Duke's cannon had scarcely time to fire a shot. As soon as they saw themselves attacked on the flank, the infantry gave way, and it was out of the question to stay their flight. They heard high above the lowing horn of Underwald, the shrill cornet of war. Their hearts were chilled by the sound, "for at Morat they had heard it."

The Burgundian infantry give way.

The cavalry, left alone in presence of this mass of twenty thousand men, was hardly to

be discerned on the snow-covered plain. The snow was slippery, and the horsemen fell. "At this moment," says the eye-witness, who followed in the pursuit, "we only saw horses without riders, and all sorts of property abandoned." The greater number of the fugitives pressed on as far as the bridge of Bussière. Campobasso, suspecting this, had barred the bridge, and awaited them there. The pursuit was checked on his account; his comrades, whom he had just deserted, passed through his hands, and he reserved those who had the means of paying ransom.

Campobasso's treachery.

The inhabitants of Nancy, who saw the whole from their walls, were so frantic with joy as to hurry forth without precaution, so that some fell by the hands of their friends the Swiss, who struck without attending. The mass of the routed were impelled by the inclination of the ground to a spot where two rivulets met, near a frozen pond, and the ice, which was weaker over these running waters, broke under the weight of the men-at-arms. Here, the waning fortunes of the House of Burgundy sank forever. The Duke stumbled there; and he was followed by men whom Campobasso had left for the purpose. Others believe that it was a baker of Nancy who struck him first a blow on the head, and that a man-at-arms, who was deaf, and did not hear that he was the Duke of Burgundy, despatched him with thrusts of his lance.

Death of the Duke.

BOABDIL SURRENDERING THE KEYS OF GRANADA TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA

—Vol. III, page 1007

This took place on Sunday (5th January, 1477), and, on Monday evening, it was still not known whether he was dead or alive. The chronicler of Réné naïvely confesses that his master was in great alarm lest he should see him return. In the evening, Campobasso, who perhaps knew more of the matter than any one, brought to him a Roman page, of the House of Colonna, who stated that he had seen his master fall. "The said page and a large company set off . . . they began examining all the dead bodies, which were naked and frozen, and could hardly be recognized. The page, looking here and there, found many powerful personages, and great and little ones, as white as snow. He turned them all over. . . . 'Alas!' he said, 'here is my good lord.'

Search for Charles's body.

"When the Duke heard that he was found, right joyous was he, notwithstanding that he would rather he had remained in his own country, and had never begun war against him. . . . And he said, 'Bear him in with all honor.' He was put within fair linen, and borne into the house of George Marqueiz, into a back chamber. The said Duke was decently washed, he was fair as snow; he was small, but exceedingly well limbed. He was laid out on a table, covered up in white sheets, with a silken pillow, a red canopy above his head, his hands clasped together, and the cross and holy water near him. All who wished to see

Interment of the Duke.

him might; none were turned back. Some prayed to God for him, others not. . . . Three days and three nights there he lay."

His wounds.

He had met with rough treatment. His head had been laid open, and he had been stabbed in both thighs, and in the fundament. He had been with some difficulty recognized. In removing his head from the ice, the skin had come off on that side of his face; and the other cheek had been gnawed by the dogs and wolves. However, his attendants, his physician, his body-servant, and his laundress, recognized him by the wound he had received at Montlhéry, by his teeth, his nails, and some private marks.

Rene's conduct.

He was also recognized by Olivier de la Marche, and many of the principal prisoners: "Duke Réné led them to see the Duke of Burgundy, entered the first, and uncovered his head. . . . They knelt down: 'Alas!' they said, 'there is our good master and lord.' . . . The Duke had proclamation made throughout the city of Nancy that each householder should attend, wax-taper in hand, and had the church of St. George hung all round with black cloth, and sent for the three abbots . . . and all the priests for two leagues round. Three high masses were sung." Réné, in deep mourning mantle, with all his Lorraine and Swiss captains, came to sprinkle him with holy water, "and clasping his right hand in his under the pall," he exclaimed graciously, "Well-a-day,

fair cousin, may God have your soul in his holy keeping! You have wrought us great harm and grief."

It was not easy to persuade the people that he who had been the theme of every tongue was really dead. . . . He was concealed, ran the rumor, he was immured in prison, he had turned monk; he had been seen by pilgrims in Germany, at Rome, at Jerusalem; sooner or later he would reappear, like King Arthur or Frederick Barbarossa; it was certain that he would return. There were merchants even who gave goods on credit, to be paid double when the great Duke of Burgundy came back.

Popular incredulity of the Duke's death.

It is asserted that the gentleman who had the misfortune to kill him, not knowing who he was, could never be consoled, and died of grief. If he were thus regretted by the enemy, how much more by his servants, by those who had known his noble nature, before he lost his head and was ruined! When the chapter of the Golden Fleece met for the first time at Saint-Sauveur's, Bruges, and the knights, reduced to five, beheld in this vast church, on a cushion of black velvet, the Duke's collar which occupied his accustomed place, and read upon his scutcheon, after the list of his titles, "the dolorous word, *Dead*," they burst into tears.

[The Turks ravage Italy with fire and sword (1477-1478). Giulio de' Medici is

killed by the conspiracy of the Pazzi; his brother, Lorenzo the Magnificent, succeeds (1478). The Christian kingdoms of Spain are united under Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile (1479). The Inquisition is established in Spain; first auto-de-fé (1484) at Seville.]

The Inquisition established.

END OF WARS OF THE ROSES

(A.D. 1485)

DAVID HUME

THE crimes of Richard were so horrid and so shocking to humanity that the natural sentiments of men, without any political or public views, were sufficient to render his government unstable; and every person of probity and honor was earnest to prevent the sceptre from being any longer polluted by that bloody and faithless hand which held it. All the exiles flocked to the Earl of Richmond in Brittany, and exhorted him to hasten his attempt for a new invasion, and to prevent the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, which must prove fatal to all his hopes. The Earl, sensible of the urgent necessity, but dreading the treachery of Peter Landais, who had entered into a negotiation with Richard for betraying him, was obliged to attend only to his present safety; and he made his escape to the Court of France. The ministers of Charles VIII., who had now succeeded to the throne after the death of his father Louis, gave him countenance and protection; and

Richmond receives French encouragement.

Crimes of Richard.

being desirous of raising disturbances to Richard, they secretly encouraged the Earl in the levies which he made for the support of his enterprise upon England. The Earl of Oxford, whom Richard's suspicions had thrown into confinement, having made his escape, here joined Henry; and inflamed his ardor for the attempt, by the favorable accounts which he brought of the dispositions of the English nation, and their universal hatred of Richard's crimes and usurpation.

Richmond's invasion.

The Earl of Richmond set sail from Harfleur in Normandy with a small army of about 2,000 men; and after a navigation of six days, he arrived at Milford-Haven in Wales, where he landed without opposition. He directed his course to that part of the kingdom, in hopes that the Welsh, who regarded him as their countryman, and who had been already prepossessed in favor of his cause by means of the Duke of Buckingham, would join his standard, and enable him to make head against the established government. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom; and having given commissions to different persons in the several counties, whom he empowered to oppose his enemy, he purposed in person to fly on the first alarm to the place exposed to danger. Sir Rice ap-Thomas and Sir Walter Herbert were intrusted with his authority in

Wales; but the former immediately deserted to Henry; the second made but feeble opposition to him: and the Earl, advancing toward Shrewsbury, received every day some reinforcement from his partisans. Sir Gilbert Talbot joined him, with all the vassals and retainers of the family of Shrewsbury: Sir Thomas Bourchier and Sir Walter Hungerford brought their friends to share his fortunes; and the appearance of men of distinction in his camp made already his cause wear a favorable aspect.

Unpopularity of Richard.

But the danger to which Richard was chiefly exposed proceeded not so much from the zeal of his open enemies, as from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Scarce any nobleman of distinction was sincerely attached to his cause, except the Duke of Norfolk; and all those who feigned the most loyalty were only watching for an opportunity to betray and desert him. But the persons of whom he entertained the greatest suspicion were Lord Stanley and his brother Sir William; whose connections with the family of Richmond, notwithstanding their professions of attachment to his person, were never entirely forgotten or overlooked by him. When he empowered Lord Stanley to levy forces, he still retained his eldest son Lord Strange as a pledge for his fidelity; and that nobleman was, on this account, obliged to employ great caution and reserve in his proceedings. He raised a

Treachery of his supporters.

powerful body of his friends and retainers in Cheshire and Lancashire, but without openly declaring himself: and though Henry had received secret assurances of his friendly intentions, the armies on both sides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behavior.

Battle of Bosworth—August 22.

The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth near Leicester; Henry, at the head of six thousand men, Richard with an army of above double the number; and a decisive action was every hour expected between them. Stanley, who commanded above seven thousand men, took care to post himself at Atherstone, not far from the hostile camps; and he made such a disposition as enabled him on occasion to join either party. Richard had too much sagacity not to discover his intentions from those movements; but he kept the secret from his own men, for fear of discouraging them: he took not immediate revenge on Stanley's son, as some of his courtiers advised him; because he hoped that so valuable a pledge would induce the father to prolong still further his ambiguous conduct: and he hastened to decide by arms the quarrel with his competitor; being certain that a victory over the Earl of Richmond would enable him to take ample revenge on all his enemies, open and concealed.

The van of Richmond's army, consisting of archers, was commanded by the Earl of Oxford: Sir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing;

Sir John Savage, the left: the Earl himself, accompanied by his uncle the Earl of Pembroke, placed himself in the main body. Richard also took post in his main body, and intrusted the command of his van to the Duke of Norfolk: as his wings were never engaged, we have not learned the names of the several commanders. Richard's captains.

Soon after the battle began, Lord Stanley, whose conduct in this whole affair discovers great precaution and abilities, appeared in the field, and declared for the Earl of Richmond. This measure, which was unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, had a proportional effect on both armies: it inspired unusual courage into Henry's soldiers; it threw Richard's into dismay and confusion. The intrepid tyrant, sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eye around the field, and, descrying his rival at no great distance, he drove against him with fury, in hopes that either Henry's death or his own would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands Sir William Brandon, standard-bearer to the Earl: he dismounted Sir John Cheyney: he was now within reach of Richmond himself, who declined not the combat; when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, surrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the last moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and perished by a fate too mild and honorable for his multiplied and Stanley declares for Richmond.

detestable enormities. His men everywhere sought for safety by flight.

There fell in this battle about four thousand of the vanquished; and among these the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Ferrars of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Piercy, and Sir Robert Brackenbury. The loss was inconsiderable on the side of the victors. Sir William Catesby, a great instrument of Richard's crimes, was taken, and soon after beheaded, with some others, at Leicester. The body of Richard was found in the field, covered with dead enemies, and all besmeared with blood. It was thrown carelessly across a horse; was carried to Leicester amid the shouts of the insulting spectators; and was interred in the Gray-Friars Church of that place.

Death of Richard.

THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA

(A.D. 1491)

WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT

FERDINAND took command of the army in the month of April, 1491, with the purpose of sitting down before the Moorish capital, not to rise until its final surrender. The troops, which mustered in the Val de Velillos, are computed by most historians at fifty thousand horse and foot, although Martyr, who served as a volunteer, swells the number to eighty thousand. They were drawn from the different cities, chiefly, as usual, from Andalusia, which had been stimulated to truly gigantic efforts throughout this protracted war, and from the nobility of every quarter, many of whom, wearied out with the contest, contented themselves with sending their quotas, while many others, as the Marquises of Cadiz, Villena, the Counts of Tendilla, Cabra, Ureña, and Alonso de Aguilar, appeared in person, eager, as they had borne the brunt of so many hard campaigns, to share in the closing scene of triumph.

Ferdinand musters his forces, 1491.

On the 26th of the month, the army en-

camped near the fountain of Ojos de Huescar, in the vega, about two leagues distant from Granada. Ferdinand's first movement was to detach a considerable force, under the Marquis of Villena, which he subsequently supported in person with the remainder of the army, for the purpose of scouring the fruitful regions of the Alpuxarras, which served as the granary of the capital. This service was performed with such unsparing rigor, that no less than twenty-four towns and hamlets in the mountains were ransacked and razed to the ground. After this, Ferdinand returned, loaded with spoil, to his former position on the banks of the Xenil, in full view of the Moorish metropolis, which seemed to stand alone, like some sturdy oak, the last of the forest, bidding defiance to the storm which had prostrated all its brethren.

Villena ravages the Alpuxarras.

Notwithstanding the failure of all external resources, Granada was still formidable from its local position and its defences. On the east it was fenced in by a wild mountain barrier, the Sierra Nevada, whose snow-clad summits diffused a grateful coolness over the city through the sultry heats of summer. The side toward the vega, facing the Christian encampment, was encircled by walls and towers of massive strength and solidity. The population, swelled to two hundred thousand by the immigration from the surrounding country, was likely, indeed, to be a burden in a pro-

Granada is still formidable.

tracted siege; but among them were twenty thousand, the flower of Moslem chivalry, who had escaped the edge of the Christian sword. Numerous were the combats which took place between the high-mettled cavaliers on both sides, who met on the level arena, as on a tilting-ground, where they might display their prowess in the presence of the assembled beauty and chivalry of their respective nations; for the Spanish camp was graced, as usual, by the presence of Queen Isabella and the infantas, with the courtly train of ladies, who had accompanied their royal mistress from Alcalá la Real. The Spanish ballads glow with picturesque details of these knightly tourneys, forming the most attractive portion of this romantic minstrelsy, which, celebrating the prowess of Moslem, as well as Christian warriors, sheds a dying glory round the last hours of Granada.

Moslem and Christian chivalry.

About the middle of July an accident occurred in the camp, which had like to have been attended with fatal consequences. The Queen was lodged in a superb pavilion, belonging to the Marquis of Cadiz, and always used by him in the Moorish war. By the carelessness of one of her attendants, a lamp was placed in such a situation, that during the night, perhaps owing to a gust of wind, it set fire to the drapery or loose hangings of the pavilion, which was instantly in a blaze. The flame communicated with fearful rapidity to

Conflagration in the camp.

the neighboring tents, made of light, combustible materials, and the camp was menaced with general conflagration. In order to guard against a similar disaster, as well as to provide comfortable winter quarters for the army, should the siege be so long protracted as to require it, it was resolved to build a town of substantial edifices on the place of the present encampment. When it was completed, the whole army was desirous that the new city should bear the name of their illustrious Queen; but Isabella modestly declined this tribute, and bestowed on the place the title of Santa Fé, in token of the unshaken trust, manifested by her people throughout this war, in Divine Providence. With this name it still stands as it was erected in 1491, a monument of the constancy and enduring patience of the Spaniards, "the only city in Spain," in the words of a Castilian writer, "that has never been contaminated by the Moslem heresy."

Santa Fé built.

The erection of Santa Fé by the Spaniards struck a greater damp into the people of Granada than the most successful military achievement could have done. They beheld the enemy setting foot on their soil, with a resolution never more to resign it. They already began to suffer from the rigorous blockade, which effectually excluded supplies from their own territories, while all communication from Africa was jealously intercepted. Symptoms of insubordination had begun to show them-

Rigors of the blockade.

selves among the overgrown population of the city, as it felt more and more the pressure of famine. In this crisis the unfortunate Abdallah and his principal counsellors became convinced that the place could not be maintained much longer; and at length, in the month of October, propositions were made, through the vizier Abut Cazim Abdelmalic, to open a negotiation for the surrender of the place.

Dismay of the Moors.

The conferences were conducted by night with the utmost secrecy, sometimes within the walls of Granada, and at others, in the little hamlet of Churriana, about a league distant from it. At length, after large discussion on both sides, the terms of capitulation were definitely settled, and ratified by the respective monarchs on the 25th of November, 1491.

Negotiations for surrender.

The conferences could not be conducted so secretly, but that some report of them got air among the populace of the city, who now regarded Abdallah with an evil eye for his connection with the Christians. When the fact of the capitulation became known, the agitation speedily mounted into an open insurrection, which menaced the safety of the city, as well as of Abdallah's person. In this alarming state of things, it was thought best by that monarch's counsellors to anticipate the appointed day of surrender; and the 2d of January, 1492, was, accordingly, fixed on for that purpose.

Commotions in Granada.

Preparations for occupying the city.

Every preparation was made by the Spaniards for performing this last act of the drama with suitable pomp and effect. The mourning which the court had put on for the death of Prince Alonso of Portugal, occasioned by a fall from his horse a few months after his marriage with the Infanta Isabella, was exchanged for gay and magnificent apparel. On the morning of the 2d, the whole Christian camp exhibited a scene of the most animating bustle. The grand cardinal, Mendoza, was sent forward at the head of a large detachment, comprehending his household troops, and the veteran infantry grown gray in the Moorish wars, to occupy the Alhambra preparatory to the entrance of the sovereigns. Ferdinand stationed himself at some distance in the rear, near an Arabian mosque, since consecrated as the hermitage of St. Sebastian. He was surrounded by his courtiers, with their stately retinues, glittering in gorgeous panoply, and proudly displaying the armorial bearings of their ancient houses. The Queen halted still further in the rear, at the village of Armilla.

Abdallah's submission.

As the column under the Grand Cardinal advanced up the Hill of Martyrs, over which a road had been constructed for the passage of the artillery, he was met by the Moorish Prince Abdallah, attended by fifty cavaliers, who, descending the hill, rode up to the position occupied by Ferdinand on the banks of

the Xenil. As the Moor approached the Spanish King, he would have thrown himself from his horse, and saluted his hand in token of homage, but Ferdinand hastily prevented him, embracing him with every mark of sympathy and regard. Abdallah then delivered up the keys of the Alhambra to his conqueror, saying: "They are thine, O King, since Allah so decrees it; use thy success with clemency and moderation." Ferdinand would have uttered some words of consolation to the unfortunate Prince, but he moved forward with dejected air to the spot occupied by Isabella, and, after similar acts of obeisance, passed on to join his family, who had preceded him with his most valuable effects on the route to the Alpuxarras.

The sovereigns during this time waited with impatience the signal of the occupation of the city by the Cardinal's troops, which, winding slowly along the outer circuit of the walls, as previously arranged, in order to spare the feelings of the citizens as far as possible, entered by what is now called the gate of Los Molinos. In a short time, the large silver cross, borne by Ferdinand throughout the crusade, was seen sparkling in the sunbeams, while the standards of Castile and Saint Jago waved triumphantly from the red towers of the Alhambra. At this glorious spectacle, the choir of the royal chapel broke forth into the solemn anthem of the Te Deum, and the whole army, penetrated

The cross raised on the Alhambra.

with deep emotion, prostrated themselves on their knees in adoration of the Lord of hosts, who had at length granted the consummation of their wishes, in this last and glorious triumph of the Cross. The grandees who surrounded Ferdinand then advanced toward the Queen, and, kneeling down, saluted her hand, in token of homage to her as sovereign of Granada. The procession took up its march toward the city, "the King and Queen moving in the midst," says a historian, "emblazoned with royal magnificence; and as they were in the prime of life, and had now achieved the completion of this glorious conquest, they seemed to represent even more than their wonted majesty. Equal with each other, they were raised far above the rest of the world. They appeared, indeed, more than mortal, and as if sent by Heaven for the salvation of Spain."

Homage paid to Isabella.

In the meanwhile, the Moorish King, traversing the route of the Alpuxarras, reached a rocky eminence which commanded a last view of Granada. He checked his horse, and, as his eye for the last time wandered over the scenes of his departed greatness, his heart swelled, and he burst into tears. "You do well," said his more masculine mother, "to weep like a woman for what you could not defend like a man!" "Alas!" exclaimed the unhappy exile, "when were woes ever equal to mine!" The scene of this event is still pointed

out to the traveller by the people of the district; and the rocky height, from which the Moorish chief took his sad farewell of the princely abodes of his youth, is commemorated by the poetical title of *El Ultimo Sospiro del Moro*,—"The Last Sigh of the Moor."

"The Last Sigh of the Moor."

The fall of Granada excited a general sensation throughout Christendom, where it was received as counterbalancing, in a manner, the loss of Constantinople, nearly half a century before. At Rome, the event was commemorated by a solemn procession of the Pope and cardinals to St. Peter's, where high mass was celebrated, and the public rejoicing continued for several days. The intelligence was welcomed with no less satisfaction in England, where Henry the Seventh was seated on the throne.

Rejoicing throughout Christendom.

Thus ended the war of Granada, which is often compared by the Castilian chroniclers to that of Troy in its duration, and which certainly fully equalled the latter in variety of picturesque and romantic incidents, and in circumstances of poetical interest. With the surrender of its capital, terminated the Arabian Empire in the peninsula, after an existence of seven hundred and forty-one years from the date of the original conquest. The consequences of this closing war were of the highest moment to Spain. The most obvious was the recovery of an extensive territory, hitherto held by a people whose difference of

Results of the war of Granada.

religion, language, and general habits made them not only incapable of assimilating with their Christian neighbors, but almost their natural enemies; while their local position was a matter of just concern, as interposed between the great divisions of the Spanish monarchy, and opening an obvious avenue to invasion from Africa. By the new conquest, moreover, the Spaniards gained a large extent of country, possessing the highest capacities for production, in its natural fruitfulness of soil, temperature of climate, and in the state of cultivation to which it had been brought by its ancient occupants; while its shores were lined with commodious havens that afforded every facility for commerce. The scattered fragments of the ancient Visigothic Empire were now again, with the exception of the little State of Navarre, combined into one great monarchy, as originally destined by nature; and Christian Spain gradually rose, by means of her new acquisitions, from a subordinate situation to the level of a first-rate European power.

Spain's gains.

But, with all our sympathy for the conquerors, it is impossible, without a deep feeling of regret, to contemplate the decay and final extinction of a race who had made such high advances in civilization as the Spanish Arabs; to see them driven from the stately palaces reared by their own hands, wandering as exiles over the lands which still blossomed

with the fruits of their industry, and wasting away under persecution, until their very name as a nation was blotted out from the map of history. It must be admitted, however, that they had long since reached their utmost limit of advancement as a people. The light shed over their history shines from distant ages; for, during the later period of their existence they appear to have reposed in a state of torpid, luxurious indulgence, which would seem to argue that, when causes of external excitement were withdrawn, the inherent vices of their social institutions had incapacitated them for the further production of excellence. In this impotent condition, it was wisely ordered that their territory should be occupied by a people whose religion and more liberal form of government, however frequently misunderstood or perverted, qualified them for advancing still higher the interests of humanity.

Destiny of the Moors.

THE JEWS EXPELLED FROM SPAIN

(A.D. 1492)

HENRY HART MILMAN

THE ministers of confiscation and execution spread through Spain; many of the New Christians fled to France, to Portugal, and to Africa. Some, condemned for contumacy, ventured to fly to Rome, and to appeal to the Pope against their judges. The Pope himself trembled at his own act. He wrote to the sovereigns, complaining that the Inquisitors exceeded their powers. It was but a momentary burst of justice and mercy. Under the pretext of securing their impartiality, the number of Inquisitors was increased; the whole body was placed under certain regulations; and at length the Holy Office was declared permanent, and the too celebrated Thomas de Torquemada placed at its head. Its powers were extended to Aragon; but the high-spirited nobles of that kingdom did not submit to its laws without a resolute contest,—for many of those who held the highest offices were descended from the New Christians. The Cortes appealed to the King and to the

Work of the Inquisitors.

Pope, particularly against the article which confiscated the property of the criminals,—contrary, as they asserted, to the laws of Aragon. While their appeal was pending, the Inquisitors proceeded to condemn several New Christians. The pride of the nation took fire; an extensive conspiracy was organized; and the Inquisitor Arbues was assassinated in the cathedral of Saragossa. But the effects of this daring act were fatal, instead of advantageous, to the New Christians. The horror of the crime was universal. The Old Christians shrunk from their share in the conspiracy, and left their confederates to bear all the odium and the penalty of the atrocious deed. The Inquisitors proceeded to exact a frightful retribution. Two hundred victims perished. Many of the noblest families were degraded by beholding some one of their members bearing the *san-benito,* as confessed and pardoned heretics. Though their chief victims were selected from those who were suspected of secret Judaism, yet the slightest taint of Judaism in the blood (and among the Aragonese nobility—the nobility of all Spain—this was by no means rare) was sufficient to excite suspicion, and, if possible, the vengeance of the Inquisitors.

The Aragonese appeal against the Inquisitors.

The unconverted Jews, however they might commiserate these sufferings, still, no doubt, in their hours of sterner zeal, acknowledged the justice of the visitation which the God of

Jewish blood in Spanish nobility.

their fathers had permitted against those who had thus stooped to dissemble the faith of their ancestors. Their pusillanimous dereliction of the God of Abraham had met with severe though just retribution, while those who, with more steadfast hearts, had defied their adversary to the utmost, now enjoyed the reward of their holy resolution in their comparative security. But their turn came. In 1492, appeared the fatal edict commanding all unbaptized Jews to quit the realm in four months; for Ferdinand and Isabella, having now subdued the kingdom of Granada, had determined that the air of Spain should no longer be breathed by any one who did not profess the Catholic faith. For this edict, which must make desolate the fairest provinces of the kingdom of its most industrious and thriving population, no act of recent conspiracy, no disloyal demeanor, no reluctance to contribute to the public burdens, was alleged. The whole race was condemned on charges, some a century old, all frivolous or wickedly false,—crucifixions of children at different periods, insults to the Host, and the frequent poisoning of their patients by Jewish physicians. One of these charges was that they perverted back to Judaism their brethren who had embraced Christianity. The story of the crucifixion of a child at Guardia had found ready belief (Juan de Passamente had been added to the saints and martyrs of the Church); it

Edict against the Jews.

Traditional atrocities.

GUTENBERG AND HIS PRESS

From the painting by Hillemacher

—Vol. III, page 981

was working with unresisted effort on the popular belief. The edict raked up every worn-out tradition of these atrocities; a crucifixion at Saragossa in 1250, at Segovia in 1406, one near Zamora, one at Sepulveda, an infernal conspiracy at Toledo to blow up a procession of the Host. The edict was issued only eighty-nine days after the conquest of Granada. The Jews made an ineffectual effort to avert their fate. Abarbanel, a man of the greatest learning, the boast of the present race of Jews, and of unblemished reputation, threw himself at the feet of the King and Queen, and offered, in the name of his nation, an immense sum, 30,000 ducats, to recruit the finances of the kingdom, exhausted by the wars of Granada. The Queen, sad to say, made a bitter speech against the suppliant. The Inquisitors were alarmed. Against all feelings of humanity and justice the royal hearts were steeled, but the appeal to their interests might be more effectual. Thomas de Torquemada advanced into the royal presence, bearing a crucifix. "Behold," he said, "him whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver. Sell ye him now for a higher price, and render an account of your bargain before God."

Abarbanel's offer.

The sovereigns trembled before the stern Dominican, and the Jews had no alternative but baptism or exile. For three centuries their fathers had dwelt in this delightful country, which they had fertilized with their industry,

enriched with their commerce, adorned with their learning. Yet there were few examples of weakness or apostasy; the whole race,—variously calculated at 166,000, 300,000, 650,000, or 800,000,—in a lofty spirit of self-devotion (we envy not that mind which can not appreciate its real greatness), determined to abandon all rather than desert the religion of their forefathers. They left the homes of their youth, the scenes of their early associations, the sacred graves of their ancestors, the more recent tombs of their own friends and relatives. They left the synagogues in which they had so long worshipped their God; the schools where those wise men had taught, who had thrown a lustre which shone, even through the darkness of the age, upon the Hebrew name. They were allowed four months to prepare for this everlasting exile. The unbaptized Jew found in the kingdom after that period was condemned to death. The persecutor could not even trust the hostile feelings of his bigoted subjects to execute his purpose. A statute was thought necessary, prohibiting any Christian from harboring a Jew after that period. Many were sold for slaves; Christendom swarmed with them. The wealthier were permitted to carry away their movables, excepting gold and silver, for which they were to accept letters of change or any merchandise not prohibited. Their property they might sell; but the market was soon glutted, and the

Number of Jews exiled.

Statute against harboring Jews.

cold-hearted purchasers waited till the last instant to wring from their distress the hardest terms. A contemporary author states that he saw Jews give a house for an ass, and a vineyard for a small quantity of cloth or linen. Yet many of them concealed their gold and jewels in their clothes and saddles; some swallowed them, in hopes thus at least to elude the scrutiny of the officers. The Jews consider this calamity almost as dreadful as the taking and ruin of Jerusalem. For whither to fly? and where to find a more hospitable shore? Incidents, which make the blood run cold, are related of the miseries which they suffered. Their sufferings. Some of those from Aragon found their way into Navarre; others to the seashore, where they set sail for Italy, or the coast of Morocco; others crossed the frontier into Portugal. "Many of the former were cast away, or sunk," says a Jewish writer, "like lead, into the ocean." On board the ship, which was conveying a great number to Africa, the plague broke out. The captain ascribed the infection to his circumcised passengers, and set them all on shore, on a desert coast, without provisions. They dispersed: one, a father, saw his beautiful wife perish before his eyes —fainted himself with exhaustion—and, waking, beheld his two children dead by his side. A few made their way to a settlement of the Jews. Some reached the coast of Genoa, but they bore famine with them; they lay perish-

ing on the shore,—the clergy approached with the crucifix in one hand and provisions in the other,—nature was too strong for faith—they yielded, and were baptized. A Genoese, an eye-witness, describes their landing and their sufferings. He commences with these expressive words: "At first sight their treatment might seem praiseworthy, as doing honor to our God; perhaps there was some little cruelty in it, since we considered them not as beasts, but as men created by God. It was wretched to witness their sufferings; they were wasted away with hunger, especially sucklings and infants; mothers half alive carried their children, famishing with hunger, in their arms, and died holding them. Many expired from cold, others with squalor and thirst. The tossing about on the sea, and the unaccustomed miseries of the voyage, had destroyed an incredible multitude. I speak not of the cruelty and rapacity with which they were treated by the captains of the ships. Some were thrown into the sea by the cupidity of the sailors; some lived to sell their children to pay for their passage. Many came into the city, but were not permitted to stay long,—by the ancient laws of Genoa not above three days. They were allowed, however, to refit their vessels, and to recruit themselves some days from their fatigues: except that they could move, and that with difficulty, you would have thought them dead. They were crowded on the Mole

Their reception in Genoa.

Barbarous treatment by sailors.

with the sea on all sides; so many died that the air was infected; ulcers broke out, and the plague which visited Genoa the next year was ascribed to that infection." The acts of the clergy and the compulsory baptism rest on Jewish tradition. Into Rome the fugitives were admitted, but they were received with the utmost inhospitality by their own brethren, fearful that the increased numbers would bring evil upon the community; even the profligate heart of Alexander the Sixth was moved with indignation.—"This is something new," he exclaimed; "I had always heard that a Jew had ever compassion on a Jew." The Pope commanded the resident Jews to evacuate the country; they bought the revocation of the edict at a considerable price. Those who reached Fez were not permitted to enter the town; the King, though by no means unfriendly, dreaded the famine they might cause among his own subjects. They were encamped on the sand, suffering all the miseries of hunger; living on the roots they dug up, or the grass of the field, "happy," says one Jewish authority, "if the grass had been plentiful."

Inhospitable reception at Rome by the Jews.

Reception in Fez.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

(A.D. 1492)

WASHINGTON IRVING

AFTER the difficulties experienced before the Council of Salamanca, and after the still greater difficulties made by various courts in patronizing this enterprise, it is surprising how inconsiderable an armament was required. It is evident that Columbus had reduced his requisitions to the narrowest limits, lest any great expense should cause impediment. Three small vessels were apparently all that he had requested. Two of them were light barks called caravels, not superior to river and coasting craft of more modern days. Representations of this class of vessels exist in old prints and paintings. They are delineated as open, and without deck in the centre, but built up high at the prow and stern, with forecastles and cabins for the accommodation of the crew. Peter Martyr, the learned contemporary of Columbus, says that only one of the three vessels was decked. The smallness of the vessels was considered an advantage by Columbus because they enabled him to run close to the shores, and to enter

The three ships.

shallow rivers and harbors. In his third voyage, when coasting the Gulf of Paria, he complained of the size of his ship, being nearly a hundred tons burden. But that such long and perilous expeditions, into unknown seas, should be undertaken in vessels without decks, and that they should live through the violent tempests, by which they were frequently assailed, remain among the singular circumstances of these daring voyages.

At length, by the beginning of August, every difficulty was vanquished, and the vessels were ready for sea. The largest, which had been prepared expressly for the voyage, and was decked, was called the *Santa Maria;* on board of this ship Columbus hoisted his flag. The second, called the *Pinta,* was commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, accompanied by his brother, Francisco Martin, as pilot. The third, called the *Nina,* had lateen sails, and was commanded by the third of the brothers, Vicente Yañez Pinzon. There were three pilots, Sancho Ruiz, Pedro Alonzo Niño, and Bartolomeo Roldan. Roderigo Sanchez of Segovia was inspector-general of the armament, and Diego de Arana, a native of Cordova, chief alguazil. Roderigo de Escobar went as royal notary, an officer always sent in the armaments of the crown, to take official notes of all transactions. There was also a physician and a surgeon, together with various private adventurers, several servants and

Columbus's companions

ninety mariners; making, in all, one hundred and twenty persons.

Departure from Palos.

The squadron being ready to put to sea, Columbus, impressed with the solemnity of his undertaking, confessed himself to the friar Juan Perez and partook of the sacrament of the communion. His example was followed by his officers and crew, and they entered upon their enterprise full of awe, and with the most devout and affecting ceremonials, committing themselves to the especial guidance and protection of Heaven. A deep gloom was spread over the whole community of Palos at their departure, for almost every one had some friend or relative on board of the squadron. The spirits of the seamen, already depressed by their own fears, were still more cast down at the affliction of those they left behind, who took leave of them with tears and lamentations, and dismal forebodings, as of men they were never to behold again.

When Columbus set sail on this memorable voyage, he commenced a regular journal, intended for the inspection of the Spanish sovereigns. Like all his other transactions, it evinces how deeply he was impressed with the grandeur and solemnity of his enterprise. He proposed to keep it, as he afterward observed, in the manner of the Commentaries of Cæsar. It opened with a stately prologue, wherein, in the following words, were set

forth the motives and views which led to his expedition.

Columbus's journal.

"In nomine D. N. Jesu Christi. Whereas most Christian, most high, most excellent and most powerful princes, King and Queen of the Spains, and of the islands of the sea, our sovereigns, in the present year of 1492, after your highnesses had put an end to the wars with the Moors, who ruled in Europe, and had concluded that warfare in the great city of Granada, where, on the second of January of this present year, I saw the royal banners of your highnesses placed by force of arms on the towers of the Alhambra, which is the fortress of that city, and beheld the Moorish king sally forth from the gates of the city, and kiss the royal hands of your highnesses and of my lord the prince; and immediately in that same month, in consequence of the information which I had given to your highnesses of the lands of India, and of a Prince who is called the Grand Khan, which is to say in our language, King of Kings; how that many times he and his predecessors had sent to Rome to entreat for doctors of our holy faith, to instruct him in the same; and that the holy father had never provided him with them, and thus so many people were lost, believing in idolatries, and imbibing doctrines of perdition; therefore, your highnesses, as Catholic Christians and princes, lovers and promoters of the holy Christian faith, and

The Grand Khan wants to learn the true faith.

enemies of the sect of Mahomet, and of all idolatries and heresies, determined to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said parts of India, to see the said princes, and the people and lands, and discover the nature and disposition of them all, and the means to be taken for the conversion of them to our holy faith; and ordered that I should not go by land to the east, by which it is the custom to go, but by a voyage to the west, by which course, unto the present time, we do not know for certain that any one hath passed. Your highnesses, therefore, after having expelled all the Jews from your kingdoms and territories, commanded me, in the same month of January, to proceed with a sufficient armament to the said parts of India; and for this purpose bestowed great favors upon me, ennobling me that thenceforward I might style myself Don, appointing me high admiral of the ocean sea, and perpetual viceroy and governor of all the islands and continents I should discover and gain, and which henceforward may be discovered and gained in the ocean sea; and that my eldest son should succeed me, and so on from generation to generation forever. I departed, therefore, from the city of Granada the 12th of May of the same year, 1492, to Palos, where I armed three ships, well calculated for such service, and sailed from that port well furnished with provisions and with many seamen, on Fri-

A voyage westward to the Indies.

Hereditary honors for Columbus.

day, the 3d of August, of the same year, half an hour before sunrise, and took the route for the Canary Islands of your highnesses, to steer my course thence, and navigate until I should arrive at the Indies, and deliver the embassy of your highnesses to those princes, and accomplish that which you had commanded. For this purpose I intend to write during this voyage, very punctually from day to day, all that I may do and see, and experience, as will hereafter be seen."

Columbus beholds the new world.

It was on Friday morning, the 12th of October, that Columbus first beheld the new world. As day dawned he saw before him a level island, several leagues in extent, and covered with trees like a continual orchard. Though apparently uncultivated, it was populous, for the inhabitants were seen issuing from all parts of the woods and running to the shore. They were perfectly naked; and, as they stood gazing at the ships, appeared by their attitudes and gestures to be lost in astonishment. Columbus made signal for the ships to cast anchor, and the boats to be manned and armed. He entered his own boat, richly attired in scarlet, and holding the royal standard; while Martin Alonzo Pinzon and Vincent Yañez, his brother, put off in company in their boats, each with a banner of the enterprise emblazoned with a green cross, having on either side the letters F. and Y., the initials of the Castilian

He signals to anchor.

monarchs, Fernando and Ysabel, surmounted by crowns.

As he approached the shore, Columbus, who was disposed for all kinds of agreeable impressions, was delighted with the purity and suavity of the atmosphere, the crystal transparency of the sea, and the extraordinary beauty of the vegetation. He beheld, also, fruits of an unknown kind upon the trees which overhung the shores. On landing he threw himself on his knees, kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy. His example was followed by the rest, whose hearts indeed overflowed with the same feelings of gratitude. Columbus, then rising, drew his sword, displayed the royal standard, and assembling round him the two captains, with Rodrigo de Escobedo, notary of the armament, Rodrigo Sanchez, and the rest who had landed, he took solemn possession in the name of the Castilian sovereigns, giving the island the name of San Salvador. Having complied with the requisite forms and ceremonies, he called upon all present to take the oath of obedience to him, as admiral and viceroy, representing the persons of the sovereigns.

Landing of Columbus.

Columbus takes possession of the island.

The feelings of the crew now burst forth in the most extravagant transports. They had recently considered themselves devoted men, hurrying forward to destruction; they now looked upon themselves as favorites of fortune,

Behavior of the crew.

and gave themselves up to the most unbounded joy. They thronged around the admiral with overflowing zeal, some embracing him, others kissing his hands. Those who had been most mutinous and turbulent during the voyage were now most devoted and enthusiastic. Some begged favors of him, as if he had already wealth and honors in his gift. Many abject spirits, who had outraged him by their insolence, now crouched at his feet, begging pardon for all the trouble they had caused him, and promising the blindest obedience for the future.

Terror of the natives.

The natives of the island, when, at the dawn of day, they had beheld the ships hovering on their coast, had supposed them monsters which had issued from the deep during the night. They had crowded to the beach, and watched their movements with awful anxiety. Their veering about, apparently without effort, and the shifting and furling of their sails, resembling huge wings, filled them with astonishment. When they beheld their boats approach the shore, and a number of strange beings clad in glittering steel, or raiment of various colors, landing upon the beach, they fled in affright to the woods. Finding, however, that there was no attempt to pursue nor molest them, they gradually recovered from their terror, and approached the Spaniards with great awe; frequently prostrating themselves on the earth, and making signs of adora-

Their terror overcome.

tion. During the ceremonies of taking possession, they remained gazing in timid admiration at the complexion, the beards, the shining armor, and splendid dress of the Spaniards. Columbus particularly attracted their attention, from his commanding height, his air of authority, his dress of scarlet, and the deference which was paid him by his companions; all which pointed him out to be the commander. When they had still further recovered from their fears, they approached the Spaniards, touched their beards, and examined their hands and faces, admiring their whiteness. Columbus was pleased with their gentleness and confiding simplicity, and suffered their scrutiny with perfect acquiescence, winning them by his benignity. They now supposed that the ships had sailed out of the crystal firmament which bounded their horizon, or had descended from above on their ample wings, and that these marvellous beings were inhabitants of the skies.

Their gentleness and simplicity.

As Columbus supposed himself to have landed on an island at the extremity of India, he called the natives by the general appellation of Indians, which was universally adopted before the true nature of the discovery was known, and has since been extended to all the aboriginals of the New World.

San Salvador.

The island where Columbus had thus, for the first time, set his foot upon the New World was called by the natives Guanahané. It still

retains the name of San Salvador, which he gave to it, though called by the English Cat Island. The light which he had seen the evening previous to his making land may have been on Watling's Island, which lies a few leagues to the east. San Salvador is one of the great cluster of the Lucayos, or Bahama Islands, which stretch southeast and northwest from the coast of Florida to Hispaniola, covering the northern coast of Cuba.

Columbus reconnoitres the coast.

On the morning of the 14th of October, the admiral set off at daybreak with the boats of the ships to reconnoitre the island, directing his course to the northeast. The coast was surrounded by a reef of rocks, within which there was depth of water and sufficient harbor to receive all the ships in Christendom. The entrance was very narrow; within there were several sand-banks, but the water was as still as in a pool.

Hospitality of the natives.

The island appeared throughout to be well wooded, with streams of water, and a large lake in the centre. As the boats proceeded they passed two or three villages, the inhabitants of which, men as well as women, ran to the shores, throwing themselves on the ground, lifting up their hands and eyes, either giving thanks to heaven, or worshipping the Spaniards as supernatural beings. They ran along parallel to the boats, calling after the Spaniards, and inviting them by signs to land, offering them various fruits and vessels of water.

Finding, however, that the boats continued on their course, many threw themselves into the sea and swam after them, and others followed in canoes. The admiral received them all with kindness, giving them glass beads and other trifles, which were received with transports as celestial presents, for the invariable idea of the savages was that the white men had come from the skies.

Columbus explores San Salvador.

In this way they pursued their course, until they came to a small peninsula, which with two or three days' labor might be separated from the mainland and surrounded with water, and was therefore specified by Columbus as an excellent situation for a fortress. On this were six Indian cabins, surrounded by groves and gardens as beautiful as those of Castile. The sailors being wearied with rowing, and the island not appearing to the admiral of sufficient importance to induce colonization, he returned to the ships, taking seven of the natives with him, that they might acquire the Spanish language and serve as interpreters. Having taken in a supply of wood and water, they left the island of San Salvador the same evening, the admiral being impatient to arrive at the wealthy country to the south, which he flattered himself would prove the famous island of Cipango.

END OF VOLUME THREE